

DEUTERONOMY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel

Edited by
**STEVE MOYISE AND
MAARTEN J. J. MENKEN**



THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE SCRIPTURES OF ISRAEL

Editor

Maarten J. J. Menken and Steve Moyise

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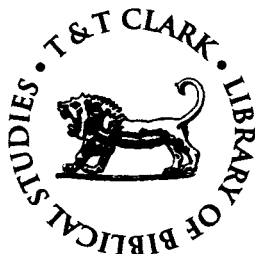
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ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AnBib	Analecta biblica
BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese and Theologie
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Clarendon Press, 1907)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961)
BECNT	Baker Evangelical Commentary of the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BThS	Biblich-theologische Studien
<i>BTS</i>	<i>Bible et Terre Sainte</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologiae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBS	Herders biblische Studien

<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBC	Interpreter's Bible Commentary
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>ISBE</i>	<i>The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> (ed. G. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979–88)
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
<i>LAB</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i>
LD	Lectio divina
MJSt	Münsteraner Judaistische Studien
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MThSt	Marburger Theologische Studien
NA ²⁷	Nestle and Aland, <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 27th edn, 1993)
NAC	New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>NDBT</i>	<i>New Dictionary of Biblical Theology</i>
NEBNT	Neue Echter Bibel, Neues Testament
NIBCNT	New International Bible Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplement Series
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>NTA</i>	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (ed. J. H. Charlesworth)
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
<i>PRS</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>

<i>QD</i>	<i>Quaestiones disputatae</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike and Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RNT</i>	Regensburger Neues Testament
<i>SBAB</i>	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLDS</i>	SBL Dissertation Series
<i>SBLSCS</i>	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBLSP</i>	SBL Seminar Papers
<i>SBLSymS</i>	SBL Symposium Series
<i>SBS</i>	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
<i>SESJ</i>	Suomen eksegeettisen seuran julkaisuja
<i>SNT</i>	Studien zum Neuen Testament
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>STDJ</i>	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>TB</i>	Theologische Bücherei
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (trans. G. W. Bromiley)
<i>THK</i>	Theologischer Handkommentar
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren)
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich)
<i>UTB</i>	Uni-Taschenbücher
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Vetus Testamentum, Supplement Series
<i>WBC</i>	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZBKAT</i>	Zürcher Bibelkommentare – Altes Testament
<i>ZBKNT</i>	Zürcher Bibelkommentare – Neues Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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INTRODUCTION

It is well known that in the early Christian writings that have been collected in the New Testament, the Psalms, Isaiah and Deuteronomy are the most widely used Old Testament books, to judge from quotations, allusions, and other references. In this respect, early Christianity was not exceptional within its Jewish context: similar preferences have been established, for instance, for the community behind the Dead Sea Scrolls. So it is appropriate that after volumes on the Psalms and Isaiah in the New Testament, this series on the New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel is now continued with a volume that is devoted to the significance of the book of Deuteronomy in the New Testament.

In early Jewish and early Christian perspective, Deuteronomy was hardly considered as a separate book; it was part of the Torah, the Law of Moses, together with Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Nevertheless, in this volume, Deuteronomy is treated as a more or less separate entity within the Torah, for three reasons. The first is of a practical kind: a volume on 'the Torah in the New Testament' along the lines set out in the previous volumes, would simply become too voluminous for the series. Secondly, as already suggested, among the five books of the Torah, Deuteronomy is the book most frequently utilized in the New Testament. And thirdly, Deuteronomy has its own literary and theological character within the Torah; this concerns in particular its final chapters (27–32), with the blessings and curses and the Song of Moses.

The New Testament authors (and the early Christian tradents that preceded them) did not read and interpret the book of Deuteronomy in a vacuum, but were tributary to the extant Jewish ways of reading and interpreting this document. The first chapter, written by Timothy Lim, is therefore devoted to Deuteronomy in Second Temple Judaism. Lim argues that the obvious starting point for any interpretation of Deuteronomy should be the transmission of the text itself. He gives extensive attention to the materials found in the Judaean Desert: the many fragments of Deuteronomy scrolls, generally witnessing to a proto-Masoretic text type, but with significant variants, and also the excerpts from Deuteronomy, the phylacteries and *mezuzot*. These materials show in any case that the Qumran community had a lively and varied interest in Deuteronomy. This interest is also apparent from the importance Deuteronomy has in the non-biblical Qumran scrolls, especially in the Temple Scroll. Other interpretations of Deuteronomy briefly dealt with in this chapter are those of the Septuagint translator, of Philo and of Josephus.

Next, Steve Moyise discusses the quotations from and allusions to Deuteronomy in Mark's Gospel. It is difficult to be precise about what text of Deuteronomy Mark has used. It appears to be the LXX, but some quotations probably come from church tradition, and in other cases, there are so few common words that it is impossible to tell. Mark certainly has a positive view of Deuteronomy and of Moses as the authority behind it, but sometimes one part of Deuteronomy takes priority over another part (and this actually occurs with the Torah as a whole). Mark does not always simply reproduce the text of Deuteronomy; on occasion, he changes or transforms it by its new setting. Of course, allusions lend themselves to this type of transformation more easily than quotations.

In the chapter on Deuteronomy in Matthew (with some attention to Deuteronomy in Q), Maarten Menken points out that the formulae introducing quotations from Deuteronomy in Matthew show that the evangelist did not consider the book as a separate entity within the Torah. Matthew adopted most of his Deuteronomy quotations from his sources (Mark, Q, other materials), with modest editorial changes. He also introduced, in his role as editor, a few quotations from Deuteronomy; so far as these allow determination of his biblical text, it must have been the LXX. It can be said that Matthew's selection of passages from Deuteronomy is largely governed by already existing Christian tradition. Matthew's interpretation of the legal regulations from Deuteronomy is characterized by the idea that there is an order of rank among them: the governing principle is the double commandment to love God and to love one's neighbour (see esp. 22.34-40).

Dietrich Rusam, who contributes the chapter on Deuteronomy in Luke-Acts, strongly focuses on the meaning which Luke's quotations from Deuteronomy acquire in their new, Lukan context. There is a significant difference between Luke's Gospel and the book of Acts, caused by the change brought about by the death and resurrection of Jesus: in the Gospel, all quotations from Deuteronomy function as legal prescripts, whereas in Acts, the promise of the 'prophet like Moses' (Deut. 18.15, 19-20, cf. Acts 3.22-23; 7.37) functions as a prophecy, referring back, on the one hand, to Jesus' earthly ministry, and announcing, on the other hand, a future in which those who believe in Jesus will partake in God's kingdom. In Luke's view, the legal prescripts from Deuteronomy which Jesus repeats are binding for Christians, who are able to fulfil them only by God's power (cf. Lk. 18.27).

The place of Deuteronomy in John's Gospel is studied by Michael Labahn. At first sight, it seems to be rather minimal: there is only one marked but completely rephrased quotation from Deut. 19.15 in John 8.17, with some related materials in John 5.31-34. But that is not all: various allusions to passages from Deuteronomy can be detected as well. It is striking that quotation and allusions occur in the polemical contexts of John 5 and John 7-8, both to describe and to counter the position of 'the Jews'. In addition, some important themes of Johannine theology and ethics have parallels in Deuteronomy. Factors to be taken into account in explaining John's use of Deuteronomy are John's own style and theology, and also

the 'collective memory' of first-century Jews and Christians, in which passages from Deuteronomy (such as the Decalogue and the *Shema*) were prominent.

Scriptural arguments constitute an essential element of Paul's letters to the Galatians and the Romans, and Deuteronomy plays an essential part in these. Roy Ciampa investigates this part in the present volume. Paul's exegesis of Deut. 27.26; 21.23 in Gal. 3.10, 13 is less arbitrary than it is sometimes assumed: Deuteronomy itself seems to present the curse of the law as something that has effectively fallen on Israel, and the crucified Christ was, in Paul's view, subject to this very curse. In Romans, Paul utilizes the Decalogue and the final chapters of Deuteronomy. It seems that Paul sees a conflict within Scripture itself, exemplified in Deuteronomy in the tension between the curses in Deuteronomy 27–30 and the message of God's universal salvation in the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. The tension is solved in Christ bringing about, by his righteous obedience, the transition from curse to blessing.

Brian Rosner, in his chapter on Deuteronomy in 1 and 2 Corinthians, first discusses the general influence of Deuteronomy on the Corinthian correspondence, in particular on 1 Corinthians. In his view, the Corinthian correspondence displays similarities to Deuteronomy: both voice the theological and ethical consequences of God's liberating act (in the Exodus and in Christ respectively), and both warn against sexual immorality and idolatry. Within this context of general similarity, Rosner addresses the various quotations from and allusions to Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians, and the one quotation in 2 Corinthians (Deut. 19.15 in 2 Cor. 13.1). It appears that several of Paul's practical regulations, chiefly those concerning sexual behaviour in 1 Corinthians 5–7, were inspired by regulations from Deuteronomy.

Gerd Häfner deals with Deuteronomy in the Pastoral Epistles, distinguishing one quotation (Deut. 25.4 in 1 Tim. 5.18), one possible allusion (Deut. 19.15 in 1 Tim. 5.19), and instances of 'biblical language' derived from Deuteronomy. The author of the Pastoral Epistles is very probably not a scriptural expert, but feels obliged to make use of scriptural arguments against the false teachers whom he combats, probably because they are making use of Scripture (see 2 Tim. 2.16–17). His one explicit quotation probably comes from Pauline tradition rather than a written Greek text of Deuteronomy (1 Cor. 9.9); his attachment to tradition is obvious throughout the three epistles.

Hebrews is dealt with by Gert Steyn. He finds one quotation from Deuteronomy in ch. 1 (Deut. 32.43 in Heb. 1.6), and a series of quotations and allusions, as well as one reference, in chs 10–13. He shows that Deuteronomy 31–33 (the Song of Moses and its context) was an important quarry for the *auctor ad Hebraeos*. Similarities between the quotations in Hebrews and what we find in Paul, Philo, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the version of Deuteronomy 32 in Ode 2, suggest that the quotations were drawn from a Greek text that differed from both 'the' LXX and the MT, or came from (liturgical) tradition. Steyn also gives attention to motifs from Deuteronomy in Hebrews: the covenant, Moses, and the priesthood and the

cultic life. The author of the document shows that the revelation through Jesus is both similar and superior to the revelation through Moses and the priests.

It is well known that the book of Revelation does not contain any marked quotations from the Old Testament, but is characterized by a host of unmarked quotations, allusions, and instances of 'biblical language'. Michael Tilly charts the use of Deuteronomy in Revelation. There are several allusions, especially to the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32, by which the author of Revelation creates a typological correspondence between God's judging and saving activity during Israel's exodus from Egypt and God's eschatological judgement of the enemies of the oppressed community of Christ and his saving of the Christian church. The 'integrity formula' from Deut. 4.1-2, 13.1 in Rev. 22.18-19 is interesting: it turns Revelation into a binding religious document to be safeguarded, intended to fend off idolatry and false prophecy.

Not all New Testament books which contain Deuteronomy materials are covered in this volume. It was decided to leave out those books which contain only a few allusions (debatable as these always are) or borrowings of 'biblical language' but no marked or unmarked quotations (or, as in the case of Revelation, an impressive series of unmistakable allusions). Ephesians and James were left out because the only quotations from Deuteronomy are from the Decalogue (see Eph. 6.2-3; Jas 2.11). They could also derive from the book of Exodus or, indeed, from the general acquaintance with the Decalogue among early Jews and early Christians. Discussion of them would probably not add substantially to what is already said about the Decalogue in the New Testament.

There are evidently also aspects of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Deuteronomy in the New Testament that are not covered in this volume. For instance, a lot more could be said on the presence and significance of the 'prophet like Moses' of Deuteronomy 18 in the New Testament. The studies presented here are largely limited, however, to the use of the *text* of Deuteronomy; the further development of *concepts* derived from the book is outside the scope of this collection.

Apart from the chapter on Second Temple Judaism, all the chapters focus on Deuteronomy in one individual New Testament document or in two closely relating documents, and each author expresses his own conclusions. In addition, four general trends throughout the volume may be mentioned here. First (and not surprisingly), in so far as New Testament authors make use of a written text of Deuteronomy, it is usually the LXX. Secondly, it seems that a considerable amount of materials from Deuteronomy, mainly well-known parts like the Decalogue or the *Shema*, reached New Testament authors through the 'collective memory' of early Judaism and incipient early Christianity, including liturgical tradition, or through already extant Christian documents (Q, Mark, Paul's letters). Thirdly, the closing chapters of Deuteronomy have been particularly influential, in the first place the Song of Moses (Deut. 32), which is prominently present in Romans, Hebrews, and Revelation. Finally, passages from Deuteronomy play an essential role in early discussions on the ranking of scriptural texts: which passage can overrule another?

Such discussions are found not only in the controversy on the greatest commandment and similar things, but also in Paul's 'antithetic hermeneutic', which centres on the validity of the Torah itself. Here, important theological questions are touched on, which makes the present collection of studies also relevant to a wide audience.

Chapter 1

DEUTERONOMY IN THE JUDAISM OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Timothy H. Lim

Introduction

The importance of the book of Deuteronomy for the study of Israel's Scriptures in the New Testament can hardly be exaggerated. As is recognized, the fifth book of the Pentateuch, along with the Psalms and the prophecy of Isaiah, is the most quoted of Old Testament books in the New Testament.¹ Paul, for instance, cites Deuteronomy as one of several possible proof-texts (Deut. 32.43 in Rom. 15.10; Deut. 17.7 in 1 Cor. 5.13); he erects a central, theological pillar of how the blessing of Abraham was extended to Gentiles by a paradoxical interpretation of 'the curse of the one who hangs on a tree' (Deut. 27.26 in Gal. 3.13); and he instructs his congregation on the contrast between living righteously, founded on faith, against life based on the law by a 'midrashic'² reading of Deuteronomy 30 in Romans 10.³ The study of quotations is a useful and illuminating exercise, but it hardly exhausts the influence of Deuteronomy on the New Testament and other Jewish writers of the Second Temple Period.

In 1805, W. M. L. de Wette famously described Deuteronomy as the 'Archimedean point' of pentateuchal studies since, for him, it provided the vantage from which one could view the authorship, date and content of the first five books. De Wette showed how the historical circumstances of the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah were related to the deuteronomic prescription for a cultic centralization.⁴ It

1. G. J. Brooke includes Genesis in a top-four list ('"The Canon within the Canon" at Qumran and in the New Testament', in S. E. Porter and C. E. Evans [eds], *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], pp. 242–66).

2. For the various uses of this term see my 'The Origins and Emergence of Midrash in Relation to the Hebrew Scriptures', in J. Neusner and A. Avery-Peck (eds), *The Midrash. An Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 595–612.

3. For Paul's use of the Old Testament, see my *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); D. -A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986); R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

4. See the discussion in M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), pp. 16–17.

would be an overstatement to claim the same for the book of Deuteronomy with regard to its reception-history; nonetheless, its wide use among ancient Jewish writings surely attests to its singular importance.

Our English word 'Deuteronomy' is a transliteration of the Greek title that the LXX gives to the book. The Greek word *deuteronomos* means 'second law' and is a translation of the book's evident self-reference, in Hebrew *mishneh ha-torah ha-z'ot* or 'a copy of this law (or teaching)', in Deut. 17.18. Whereas the Hebrew words refer to 'a copy of this teaching' (i.e. the book of Deuteronomy) that the king is required to have before him when seated on the throne, the LXX interprets the phrase to mean 'this second law', coining a neologism of one Greek word *deuteromion* to translate two Hebrew terms, *mishneh* and *torah*. The Septuagint's translation of the original meaning of the king's 'copy' to 'second' law is semantically significant, as it implies an understanding of the book as another law; this is the law *in addition to* (πλήν) the one that was given to Moses on Mount Horeb (28.69; 'Horeb' is Deuteronomy's preferred name for Sinai).⁵ Deuteronomy, therefore, is an apt designation of the character, if not also genre, of the book as the second law that God covenanted with Israel on the plains of Moab.

Scholars have, moreover, identified Deuteronomy's law code (chs 12–26) or something similar as the book that was discovered by Hilkiah the High Priest in the Temple during the reign of Josiah (640–609 BCE; 2 Kgs 22.8). Here, the Hebrew phrase, *sepher ha-torah* with the definite article refers to a book whose instruction (*ha-torah*) was previously known and this is more or less the same as the law code that presumably circulated independently before being incorporated into Deuteronomy.⁶

Another reference to Deuteronomy may be found in Joshua 8.30–35, a passage that describes the ceremony of the renewal of the covenant on Mount Ebal and Gerizim after the conquest of Ai. Joshua built to Yahweh an altar out of unhewn stones and on it sacrificed offerings and wrote *mishneh torat mosheh*, 'a copy of the law of Moses'. The Septuagint, which has a different literary edition, translates the phrase as νόμον Μωϋσῆ and explicitly equates it with τὸ δευτερονόμιον (Josh. 9.2).⁷

In Hebrew the title of the book is taken from its opening line and is best known as *devarim* (alternatively as *elleh devarim* or *sepher devarim*), literally meaning 'things' and 'words', but which would be best translated as 'speeches' (a reference to both its literary genre and content) of Moses. Though different from

5. For Origen *secunda lex* refers not to its secondary nature, but to coming in second place and a better law (*Homily on Genesis* 9.1), whereas the antiochene father Theodoret rendered it as a 'recapitulation' of legislation given in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (*Questions on Deuteronomy* 1, p. 232, 1–2).

6. Other views include M. J. Paul, 'Hilkiah and the Law', in N. Lohfink (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), pp. 95–112, who argues that only Deut. 28–31 are in view and A. Van Hoonacker who points to Lev. 17–26 (J. Lust, 'A. Van Hoonacker and Deuteronomy', in *Das Deuteronomium*, pp. 13–23).

7. Though this does not occur in Codex Vaticanus, see now A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus son of Nauē*, in *Codex Vaticanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

the Septuagint's subsequent interpretation of the book as second law, the Hebrew title rightly points to the literary structure of three mosaic speeches that comprise most of the book (1.1–4.43; 4.44–28.68; 28.69–30.20). A postscript of a farewell discourse closes the book when the final words and death of Moses are reported (31.1–34.12).

Over the years, much scholarly discussion has taken place about the relationship between Deuteronomy and Exodus, especially the covenant code (Exod. 12–23), Numbers and Leviticus.⁸ Did Deuteronomy draw material from Exodus and/or an independent source, or was the influence vice versa? When should the covenant code and Deuteronomy be dated?⁹ Moreover, the book of Deuteronomy, in its final form as found in the MT, is a heavily redacted work that incorporates earlier sources and shows several stages of editing:¹⁰ the law code (Deut. 12–26) forms the earliest layer, dating to the seventh century, and traceable in the narrative accounts of the Josianic reform; an editorial adoption of Deuteronomy at the head of a 'Deuteronomistic' history¹¹ (Deuteronomy to 2 Kings), with its expansions that reflect an exilic origin; and a final priestly redaction that made Deuteronomy the end of the Pentateuch.

In studying its reception history one may inadvertently err in assuming that the study of such editorial changes and redactional seams of the book of Deuteronomy have little, if any, relevance. What is important, so it might be argued, is not what the book meant *as such*, but how it was understood by subsequent Jews and Christians. But to draw such a sharp distinction between the stages of composition and subsequent reception is to miss the complexity of the task of studying ancient biblical interpretation.

First, while the Deuteronomy manuscripts from Qumran, where they may be classified, attest only to the proto-MT text-type,¹² there are also individual readings of verses in the fragments that corroborate the Septuagintal variants or have affinities to the expansionistic tendencies of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In studying the biblical quotations of Deuteronomy in the New Testament, one has to be mindful that it is not the whole of the book that is in view; the Christian authors typically cite and allude to selected passages. It is not classification of texts as

8. G. von Rad, *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium* (ET as *Deuteronomy* [London: SCM, 1966], p. 13), provides a table of common material between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant. C. Dogniez and M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. Le Deutéronome* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), pp. 104–7, include a comprehensive synopsis of the common material between Deuteronomy, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers.

9. The debate is ongoing, see recently, B. Levinson, 'Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters', in J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), ch. 13.

10. Above all M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). Note also B. M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

11. M. Noth's Deuteronomistic history has been challenged, defended and modified. See a discussion of the *status quaestionis* in T. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark International, 2006).

12. There is a Greek fragment from Cave 4 that follows the Septuagint.

such, but the finding of textual variants that corroborate ones in the New Testament quotation. The Septuagint, for instance, is characterized by translational conservatism vis-à-vis its proto-MT *Vorlage*; nevertheless, there is a myriad of details and divergences between them.¹³

Second, Deuteronomy, even in 'its final form', is not univocal. Its successive layers of redaction attest to different, sometimes even irreconcilable, perspectives. Take, for instance, Deuteronomy's theme of standing at the threshold of the Promised Land. The land that God long ago had intended for Abraham and his descendants (Gen. 12–50) was about to be given to the Israelites; Joshua and not Moses is to lead them into the Promised Land (Deut. 31–34). This is, in any case, the perspective of the closing chapters of Deuteronomy; the narrator is looking across the river Jordan from the east into Canaan. Yet, one only has to read the opening verse to realize that equally the perspective is also that of someone who is already on the other side: 'These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel *beyond* (or "across") the Jordan.' The narrator states that the speeches that he will convey in this book are the words that Moses had spoken to all Israel while they were in the Transjordan. This west-Jordan standpoint of the narrator is also found in Deut. 3.8, 20, 25; 4.41, 46 and 11.30.¹⁴ In other words, the 'final form' of Deuteronomy does not only reflect the perspective of one standing at the threshold of the Promised Land, but also the view of one who is already there.

Hebrew Manuscripts of Deuteronomy from the Judaean Desert

Fragments of some thirty-four original scrolls of Deuteronomy have been found in the Judaean Desert. Thirty-one of these were discovered in caves near Khirbet Qumran and attest to the importance of the book amongst the sectarians and three other copies were unearthed at sites in the Wadi Murabba'at, Nahal Hever and on Masada.¹⁵

13. See the textual commentaries of Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, especially pp. 29–73; and J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).

14. See further discussion in A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979), pp. 113–14. Many of the legal prescriptions in Deuteronomy assume a settled, agrarian society that is post-conquest.

15. Most of the information in the following table is conveniently gathered in E. Tov et al., *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and An Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002). See also, J. A. Duncan, 'Deuteronomy, Book of', in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (eds), *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), I, pp. 198–202; and S. White Crawford, 'Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period' in K. de Troyer and A. Lange (eds), *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library. The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), pp. 127–40.

Text	Date ¹⁶
1QDeut ^a (1Q4) ¹⁷	
1QDeut ^b (1Q5) ¹⁸	
2QDeut ^a (2Q10)	50–25 BCE
2QDeut ^b (2Q11)	30 BCE–68 CE
2QDeut ^c (2Q12)	first century CE ¹⁹
4QDeut ^a (4Q28)	175–150 BCE
4QDeut ^b (4Q29)	150–100 BCE
4QDeut ^c (4Q30)	150–100 BCE
4QDeut ^d (4Q31)	125–75 BCE
4QDeut ^e (4Q32)	50–25 BCE
4QDeut ^f (4Q33)	75–50 BCE
4QDeut ^g (4Q34)	1–25 CE
4QDeut ^h (4Q35)	50–1 BCE
4QDeut ⁱ (4Q36)	100–75 BCE
4QDeut ^j (4Q37)	50 CE
4QDeut ^{k1} (4Q38)	30–1 BCE
4QDeut ^{k2} (4Q38a)	30–1 BCE
4QDeut ^{k3} (4Q38b)	50 CE
4QDeut ^l (4Q39)	50 BCE
4QDeut ^m (4Q40)	50–1 BCE
4QDeut ⁿ (4Q41)	30–1 BCE
4QDeut ^o (4Q42)	75–50 BCE
4QDeut ^p (4Q43)	75–50 BCE
4QDeut ^q (4Q44)	50 BCE–10 CE
4QLXXDeut (4Q122)	200–150 BCE
4QpaleoDeut ^r (4Q45)	100–25 BCE
4QpaleoDeut ^s (4Q46)	250–200 BCE
5QDeut (5Q1)	200–175 BCE
6QpapDeut? (6Q3)	
6QDeut ? (6Q20) ²⁰	
11QDeut (11Q3)	50 CE
MurDeut (Mur 2)	20–84 CE
XHev/SeDeut (XHev/Se 3)	50–68 CE
MasDeut (Mas 1c)	30 BCE–70 CE ²¹

16. The dates are palaeographical estimates and refer to the time of the copying, and not writing, of the scrolls. Not every single text has been given a date.

17. '[G]raphie très pleine, de type analogue à la seconde partie du 1QIs^a' (= 125–100 BCE; D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik in *Qumran Cave 1. Discoveries in the Judean Desert* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], p. 54).

18. '[L]es graphies sont aussi classiques que celles de 1QIs^b mais le texte l'est moins', *ibid.*, p. 57. 1QIs^b is dated to 50–25 BCE.

19. '[C]alligraphie hérodienne plutôt tardive (1^{er} siècle de notre ère)' (M. Baillet in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran: exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, Discoveries in the Judean Desert III* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962]), p. 61.

20. '[E]criture difficile à dater', M. Baillet, *ibid.*, p. 154. No date is given for 6Q3 either.

21. S. Talmon, 'Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll from Masada: Deuteronomy 33.17–34.6', in M. Lubetski, C. Gottlieb and S. Keller (eds), *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 154.

Even if one were to discount the texts that have been uncertainly identified as Deuteronomy (namely the two texts from Cave 6), the number of original scrolls of Deuteronomy found at Qumran is noteworthy.²² With twenty-nine copies, Deuteronomy is the second best attested biblical book in the Qumran library, only surpassed by the Psalms with some forty copies.²³ The Qumran copies of Deuteronomy are written on skin and papyrus in palaeo-Hebrew and, more usually, in square script. They attest to the copying of Deuteronomy for more than three hundred years, 4QpaleoDeut^s (4Q46) being the earliest (250–200 BCE) and several texts dating to the first century CE. Three other copies of Deuteronomy were found elsewhere in the Judaean Desert.

Most of the copies of Deuteronomy are too fragmentary to permit a textual classification. However, the best preserved copy of Deuteronomy (4QDeut^c [4Q30]), consisting of one hundred and twenty verses drawn from nineteen chapters, has been classified by Julie Duncan as a proto-Masoretic Text, agreeing with the latter in orthography, paragraph divisions and readings.²⁴ Another copy (4QDeut^b [4Q29]) apparently ‘shows affinities to the text behind the Septuagint in that it concurs uniquely with it in a few distinctive errors’.²⁵ There are also a few excerpted texts with affinities to the Samaritan Pentateuch. In general, Duncan states that the Qumran manuscripts ‘attest to slightly expanded variant readings’²⁶ and this textual phenomenon, which entered the tradition early, is due to the distinctive nature of Deuteronomy with its repetitive and formulaic style. The degree of expansion occurs in the following order: the proto-Masoretic Text is least expansive; followed by the pre-Samaritan text; and finally the scrolls and the Septuagint. Sidnie White Crawford, however, argues that the errors are primarily due to scribal mistakes rather than ‘deliberate intervention into the text’ and that ‘Deuteronomy does not exist in two variant literary traditions, as does for example, Jeremiah’.²⁷ In other words, as far as textual classification is concerned, none of the text-types differs from each other beyond scribal variants.

Even though the fragments do not attest to variant literary editions,²⁸ the deuteronomic manuscripts from Qumran do witness to readings that stand behind

22. E. Puech, ‘Identification de nouveaux manuscrits bibliques: *Deutéronome et Proverbes* dans les débris de la grotte 4’ *RevQ* 20 (2001), pp. 121–28, has recently suggested that the two fragments at the bottom right of PAM 40.028 originally belonged to another manuscript of Deuteronomy which he labelled ‘4QDeut’ (=4Q38c).

23. The uncertainty of exact number of copies is due to the fragmentary nature of the texts. See my *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), ch. 3; and *Pesharim* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 19–20.

24. See her editio princeps in E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross (eds), *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

25. Duncan, ‘Deuteronomy’, p. 199.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Crawford, ‘Reading Deuteronomy’, p. 128.

28. E. C. Ulrich’s theory of multiple literary editions is articulated in a number of articles now collected in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), especially chapter 7.

the Septuagint. The Song of Moses, embedded in the final discourse, is a well-known example. In Deut. 32.8, the RSV reads:

When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance,
when he separated the sons of men,
he fixed the bounds of the peoples
according to the number of *the sons of God*.

A note in the RSV compares the phrase, italicized here, to the Greek reading. Almost all the Greek witnesses read ἀγγέλων θεοῦ ‘the angels of God’, a deliberate, theological change from the original reading ‘sons (υἱῶν) of God’ as preserved in P. Fouad 848 (first century BCE).²⁹ The MT, moreover, reads *beney yisrael* ‘the sons of Israel’, which includes a subsequent correction of ‘God’ to ‘Israel’ in order to make clear the allusion to the seventy families who came out of Egypt.³⁰ 4QDeutⁱ (4Q37) preserves a variant that attests to the reading of papyrus 848, namely ‘the sons of God’ (*beney elohim*).³¹ This is likely to have been the original reading (cf. Psalm 82.1) and it was emended to remove what appeared to have been a reference to pre-Israelite polytheism, a theme that Deuteronomy wholly rejected.³² Before Deuteronomy was tidied up, so to speak, it attested to the Canaanite myth of ‘the sons of god (El)’ who figured in the fixation of the borders between peoples.

Another Qumran variant is close to the presumed *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. In the deathbed scene of Deuteronomy 33, Moses blesses the children of Israel, with benedictions for each of the tribes of Israel that assume the subsequent tribal settlement. In v. 12, Moses blesses Benjamin:

Of Benjamin he said,
‘The beloved of the Lord,
he dwells in safety *by him*;
he encompasses him all the day long,
and makes his dwelling between his shoulders.’

The RSV translates the MT ‘by him’ (*‘ālāyw*), but the LXX separates this word from the sentence and begins a new phrase by reading ‘and God’ (καὶ ὁ θεός). Julie Duncan has suggested that 4QDeut^h (4Q35) supports the LXX with the reading *‘el* which would mean that God is the subject of the following sentence (‘and God encompasses him’).³³

Excerpta Deuteronomii

I have been suggesting that the reception of the book of Deuteronomy actually begins with its own textual transmission history which is additionally illumined

29. So Wevers, ‘Notes’, pp. 512–13.

30. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, pp. 325–26, point out that ‘sons’ is alluded to in Targum Jonathan and ‘angels’ in Jubilees.

31. P. W. Skehan, ‘A Fragment of the “Songs of Moses” (Deut 32) from Qumran’, *BASOR* 136 (1954), pp. 12–15.

32. See similar polytheistic imagery that is effaced in Deut 32.43 and 33.2–3, 7 (cf. B. Levinson’s notes in A. Berlin and M. Zvi Brettler (eds), *The Jewish Study Bible* [Oxford: OUP, 2004]).

33. ‘New Readings for the “Blessing of Moses” from Qumran’, *JBL* 114 (1995), pp. 273–90.

by the Hebrew fragments from Qumran. Textual variants in the tradition are created sometimes by scribal errors, other times by the interpretation of a difficult word, phrase or passage. One step removed from the manuscripts are the scrolls that appear to extract passages from Deuteronomy. These scrolls have been characterized as excerpts; they are not manuscripts of Deuteronomy, nor are they abbreviated texts.³⁴ The selection of one passage over another, on the face of it, implies an interpretative process, but such is the nature of excerpted texts that the exegetical intention is not always evident.

The best known of these excerpted texts at Qumran being 4Q175, variously described as '4QTestimonia' or 'Messianic Anthology'.³⁵ 4Q175 was copied by a scribe in the first century BCE on a single sheet. There are four paragraphs with quotations from 1) Deut. 5.28-29 and 18.18-19; 2) Num. 24.15-17; 3) Deut. 33.8-11; and 4) *Apocryphon of Joshua* (= 4QPsJosh [4Q379, fr. 22, col. 2], an interpretation of LXX Josh 6.26). There are short sentences introducing all four paragraphs, but interpretative comment accompanying only the final citation of Josh. 6.26. The verbatim citation of Deut. 33.8-11 is based on a text that is close to 4QDeut^b and the final paragraph is in fact a quotation from the *Apocryphon of Joshua*.³⁶ Presuming that this latter text is sectarian, the Qumran community would appear to have considered the *Apocryphon of Joshua* as an authoritative text alongside other books that were eventually included in the canon. Textually, the biblical quotations vary from passage to passage: the combination of Deut. 5.28-29 and 18.18-19 is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch at Exod. 20.21b; Josh. 6.26 follows the presumed *Vorlage* of the Septuagint; and the others the MT.

In my view, 4Q175 attests to the phenomenon among Jews and subsequently Christians in late Second Temple period of excerpting texts for various purposes, whether for study, liturgical practice or controversy.³⁷ Ostensibly, the first three passages selected by the compiler of 4Q175 have a messianic theme. The passages point to the expectation of different messianic figures: a prophetic one like Moses; a royal one according to Balaam's prophecy; and a levitical or priestly messiah. The fourth passage sits awkwardly with the first three in that it is an interpretation of the curse, found in Joshua, on anyone who rebuilds the city of Jericho. The man is accursed, a man of Belial, who rebuilds the city to fortify it as a 'stronghold of ungodliness in Israel'. He may have had either two sons or a brother as accomplice, depending upon how one reads the pesheresque exegesis. In the past, this accursed man has been identified with Simon Maccabee and

34. E. Tov draws a distinction between excerpted texts that collect passages from one or more biblical books and those abbreviated texts that shorten the biblical text in chapter order ('Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran', *RevQ* 64/16 [1995], pp. 581-600.)

35. See, e.g., G. Vermes's heading for the text in *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 527.

36. See J. A. Duncan, *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Judges, Joshua, Kings* (DJD, 14; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 68-70; C. Newsom, "'Psalms of Joshua' (4Q378 and 4Q379) from Qumran Cave 4", *JJS* 39 (1988), pp. 56-73; and my 'The "Psalms of Joshua" (4Q379 fr. 22 col. 2): A Reconsideration of its Text', *JJS* 44 (1993), pp. 309-12.

37. See my discussion of the E. Hatch's theory of biblical *excerpta* in light of the Qumran scrolls in *Holy Scripture*, pp. 150-58.

more recently with John Hyrcanus. In any case, 4Q175 illustrates well the nature of excerpts: they were compiled by someone, but without interpretative comment the original intention or *raison d'être* is lost. 'Testimony' or 'messianic anthology' is a partial description of only the first three paragraphs of 4Q175.

Among the Deuteronomy scrolls, there are four texts that have been characterized by their editors as biblical excerpts.

Text	Biblical Passages
4QDeut ^d (4Q37) ³⁸	Deut. 5.1–6.3; 8.5–13; 10.12–11.21; Exod. 12.43–13.16; Deut. 32.1–9
4QDeut ^{k1} (4Q38)	Deut. 5.28–32; 11.6–13; 32.17–18, 22–23, 25–27
4QDeut ^a (4Q41)	Deut. 8.5–10 and 5.1–6.1
4QDeut ^a (4Q44)	Deut. 32.1–43

Chapters 5 and 32 are quoted by three of the four texts and Deuteronomy 8 and 11 are common in two scrolls. The key to unlocking the character of these excerpts is 4QDeutⁿ (4Q41), the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' (named after the All Souls Unitarian Church that purchased it) and the inter-relations between it and the three other scrolls. 4QDeutⁿ, originally longer, consists of two sheets and six columns citing Deuteronomy 8 and 5 in that order. The editor of the text, Sidnie White Crawford, has argued that the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' should not be considered as a biblical manuscript with a variant chapter order, but a biblical excerpt as was suggested long ago by Hartmut Stegemann.³⁹ She adduced four reasons: 1) the chapters are out of order with respect to the uniform textual tradition of the order of Deuteronomy 5 and 8; 2) the blank space at the bottom of column 1 is significant codicologically; 3) the excerpted texts of the Decalogue and *Shema*, cited in 4QDeutⁿ, are used liturgically elsewhere; and 4) its harmonistic text-type is characteristic especially of other excerpted texts. The Decalogue and *Shema* are quoted in the phylacteries (*tefillin*) found in the Judean Desert and Deuteronomy 8 is used in the rabbinic 'grace after meals' (*birkat ha-mazon*).⁴⁰ As for its harmonistic character Crawford points especially to the version of the fourth commandment as found in 4QDeutⁿ:

38. Although the Deuteronomy and Exodus fragments are discontinuous, J. A. Duncan, 'Considerations of 4QDe^d in Light of the "All Souls Deuteronomy" and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts', in J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (eds), *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 18–21 March 1991* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), I, pp. 199–203, has made a good case on material grounds for combining the pieces together. This has been confirmed by Tov, 'Excerpted and Abbreviated', p. 588.

39. See her '4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?' in H. W. Attridge *et al.* (eds), *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible and Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell* (Lanham: College Theology Society Resources in Religion, 1990), pp. 13–20. Stegemann discusses the Deuteronomy 'Exzerpte', on pp. 217–27 of 'Weitere Stücke von 4QpSalmon 37, von 4QPatriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus dem Deuteronomium', *RevQ* 6 (1967–69).

40. See M. Weinfeld, 'Grace after Meals at Qumran', *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 427–40.

Observe the sabbath day *to sanctify it*, according as the Lord your God commanded you. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall not do in it any work; you, your son, your daughter, your male slave or your female slave, your ox or your ass or your beast, your sojourner who is within your gates, in order that your male slave and your female slave may rest like you. And remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the Lord your God commanded you *to observe the Sabbath day to sanctify it. For six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea and everything which is in them, and he rested on the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day to sanctify it.*⁴¹

In the 'All Souls' version of the fourth commandment, the holiness of the Sabbath is underpinned not only by the deuteronomic reasoning of liberation from Egyptian bondage (Deut. 5.12-15), but also the creational account as found in Exod. 20.8-11 (in italics). The phrase that links the two passages together is 'to sanctify it' (*lēqadsho*; underlined). This passage, moreover, shares variant readings with the Samaritan Pentateuch, Nash Papyrus, Septuagint and Vulgate.

Julie Duncan has argued that a comparison of the spacing, layout and selection of 4QDeutⁱ with 4QDeutⁿ will likewise show that the former is not a biblical manuscript but an excerpted text used for liturgical purposes. 4QDeutⁱ excerpts texts from Deuteronomy 5 and 10 and Exodus 12, passages that are selected by several phylacteries of the Judaean Desert, as well Deuteronomy 32, which is preserved in 4QPhylⁿ. Moreover, 4QDeutⁱ and 4QDeutⁿ agree in including Deuteronomy 8 in their selection, and the liturgical character of the latter text helps establish the devotional quality of the former. Similar arguments were offered for 4QDeut^{k1} and 4QDeut^q.⁴²

Beyond the general characterization of the liturgical and devotional nature of these four *excerpta deuteronomii*, there exists no exegetical comment to guide one in their usage. We do not know who excerpted these texts and for what purpose they used them. The texts⁴³ are, fortunately, related in their selection of biblical passages to the phylacteries and *mezuzot* and it is to these that we must turn for further illumination.

Phylacteries and Mezuzot

One of the most notorious passages in the New Testament, at least for the history of anti-Semitism, is Matthew 23 in which Jesus denounces the scribes and Pharisees as hypocrites. In verse 5 of that chapter, there is a passing reference to the Pharisees who make their phylacteries broad and fringes long. The wearing of phylacteries (τὰ φυλακτήρια 'amulets') is attested before Matthew's time; Pseudo-Aristeas, dating to the second century BCE, refers to the binding of phylacteries

41. Translation (italics added) by Crawford in *Qumran Cave 4. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Kings* (DJD, 14; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 124-25.

42. 'Considerations of 4QDeutⁱ'.

43. Tov, 'Excerpted and Abbreviated', p. 597, would add 5QDeut to this list, a text of 15 lines citing segments of Deut 5 and 8.

on the arm (*Let. Aris.* 159), and Philo (*Spec.* 4.137) and Josephus (*Ant.* 4.213) in the first century CE make reference to both the arm and head *tefillin*.⁴⁴

The custom of wearing phylacteries on the forehead and arm as a sign and reminder of the commandments is to be traced back to a handful of biblical texts (Exod. 13.9, 16; Deut. 6.8; 11.18). Yet while its practice was known, there were no extant exemplars dating to the Second Temple period before the discoveries in the Judean Desert. Thirty-one phylacteries⁴⁵ in total have been recovered: 21 copies from Cave 4 (Phylactery A-U [4Q128-48]); 1 copy each from Cave 1 (1Q13), 5 (5Q8) and 8 (8Q3); 4 copies from a cave that cannot be determined (XQ1-4); and 3 copies from Wadi Murabba'at (Mur 4) and Nahal Hever/Se'elim (XHev/Se5; 34 Se 1). They date to the Herodian and Bar Kochba periods respectively.

In rabbinic tradition, four texts are anthologized in the phylacteries, Exod. 13.1-10, 11-16 and Deut. 6.4-9 and 11.13-21. The phylacteries from the Judean Desert, however, vary in their choice of biblical passages. Emanuel Tov has divided those that are legible into two groups. Into group one, namely phylactery A, B, G-Q, belong those texts that cite more biblical passages than the prescribed texts of rabbinic tradition. There is an addition of Exod. 12.43-51 in A, I and M, various portions of Exod. 13.1-16 in B, G, H and M, and also of Deuteronomy 10-11 in A, K and P. As was previously mentioned, Phylactery N appears to have contained only Deuteronomy 32. What is most striking is the addition of the Decalogue in no less than eight of the phylacteries (A, B, G-H, J, L-M and O). This, according to Tov, is the category of *tefillin* written in the Qumran practice and reflects a sectarian selection and writing.⁴⁶ Lawrence H. Schiffman agreed and added that these exemplars do not represent the common phylacteries of the Second Temple period. Rather, they embody the sectarian phylacteries that set aside the pharisaic scribal practice that was already in place.⁴⁷

The presence of the Decalogue among several of the phylacteries is noteworthy, because it recalls the Nash Papyrus which cites Deut. 5.6-6.2; 6.4-5. Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nash Papyrus (named after W. L. Nash, the then Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, who bought it from an Egyptian antiquities dealer) was the oldest known biblical manuscript. Found somewhere near Fayyum, Egypt, the fragments of this Hebrew manuscript were first published by Stanley A. Cook in 1903.⁴⁸ A subsequent study by F. C. Burkitt

44. Philo and Josephus avoid the term 'phylacteries' on account of its association with magic (A. Pelletier, *La Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* [Paris: Cerf, 1962], §159).

45. They are so characterized on the basis of their micrographic writing and some with accompanying box.

46. 'Tefillin of Different Origin from Qumran?', in Y. Hoffman and F. H. Polak (eds), *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (Heb) (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1997), pp. 44-54.

47. 'Phylacteries and Mezuzot', in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), II, p. 676.

48. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, January, 1903. A transcription and study was also published anonymously as 'Un papyrus hébreu pré-massorétique', *RB* N.S. 1 (1904), pp. 242-50.

dated the text to 55 CE,⁴⁹ but William F. Albright argued that it should be brought back earlier to between 165 and 37 BCE.⁵⁰ The Nash Papyrus agrees textually with the Septuagint in several places; its liturgical character has been recognized; and its combination of excerpts of the Decalogue and *Shema* together is an important literary link with the phylacteries. Esther Eshel has even suggested that it might originally have been part of a phylactery or *mezuzah*.⁵¹ However, and this is a cautionary point, the evidence of the Nash Papyrus does not support the view of the 'sectarian' status of group one phylacteries. The argument of scribal practice notwithstanding, the combination of the Decalogue with the *Shema* as such is not sectarian practice. It reflects the fluidity of the selection, a variance that continued into the Middle Ages.

According to Tov, a second group of phylacteries (C-F, R and S) may be identified by the fact that they are not written in the Qumran practice. These phylacteries cite only texts that were later included in rabbinic tradition, namely Exod. 13.1-16, Deut. 6.4-9 and 11.13-21. Moreover, phylactery C is very close to the exemplars dating to the Second Revolt, the *tefillin* from Murabba'at and Nahal Hever/Se'elim.

As for the textual character of the phylacteries, Tov noted that none of them is close to the MT and he suggested that they come from a milieu that differed from those circles that wrote and copied Scriptures.⁵² In a later publication, he briefly implied what that milieu was with reference to *Bavli Megillah* 18b, a passage which stipulated that phylacteries and mezuzot could be copied 'without a written source'. Tov averred that they were written from memory.⁵³

In a recent study of the Nash Papyrus, Philo, 4QPhyl G, 8QPhyl 3 and 4QMez A, Innocent Himbaza has shown that the Decalogue in these texts is closer to Exodus than Deuteronomy and the Septuagint than the MT.⁵⁴ He pointed out that the Decalogue of Exodus must have been known by heart by the scribe of the Nash Papyrus. Similarly, the copyist of 4QPhyl G and 8QPhyl 3 and 4QMez A cited the Ten Commandments of Exodus from memory. Philo too, though he regularly paraphrased the Decalogue, probably cited it by heart. He concluded by stating that '[t]he Decalogue of these scribes is therefore a Decalogue that is inadvertently "eclectic"'.⁵⁵

A practice related to the wearing of phylacteries is the affixing of *mezuzot* to the door posts and gates of a house (Deut. 6.9 and 11.20). The word, *mezuzah*

49. 'The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments', *JQR* 15 (1903), p. 400.

50. 'A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: the Nash Papyrus', *JBL* 56 (1937), p. 149.

51. '4QDeut' – A Text that Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing', *HUCA* 62 (1991), p. 123 n. 36.

52. 'Excerpted and Abbreviated', pp. 599–600.

53. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2nd edn, 2001), p. 119.

54. 'Le Décalogue de Papyrus Nash, Philon, 4QPhyl G, 8QPhyl 3 et 4QMez A', *RevQ* 79/20 (2002), pp. 411–28. See also his *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du texte* (Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 47–67. However, G. J. Brooke, 'Deuteronomy 5-6 in the Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4', in R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman and W. Fields (eds), *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 60, states that 'the decalogue of Deuteronomy is the base and controlling text'.

55. 'Le Décalogue', p. 427.

(plural: *mezuzot*), means 'door post' and in the biblical text Israelites are enjoined to inscribe the divine instructions on it. As the tradition developed, the *mezuzah* itself (but not the 'gate') came to refer to the parchment of biblical excerpts to be attached to door posts. In rabbinic tradition these *mezuzot* are excerpted texts that include the first paragraph of the *Shema* in its parallel passages of Deut. 6.4-9 and 11.13-21. In the Second Temple Period, the practice was attested by Pseudo-Aristeas (*Let. Aris.* 158) and Josephus (*Ant.* 4.213). The discoveries in the Judaean Desert have brought to light nine *mezuzot*: 7 from Cave 4 (4Q149-155), 1 from Cave 8 (8Q4); and 1 from Wadi Murabba'at (Mur 5). As with the phylacteries, these *mezuzot* contain additional passages from the Decalogue (Exod. 20) and Deut. 6.6-18 and its text is likely to have been cited from memory.

On the basis of the similarity of the biblical texts collected, Tov has suggested that all the *tefillin* and *mezuzot*, as well as three of the four excerpted Deuteronomy texts (4QDeut^j, 4QDeut^k [=k1] and 4QDeutⁿ) were created for liturgical purposes; 4QDeut^q was probably intended for personal study; and 4QTestimonia is an exegetical-ideological anthology.⁵⁶ This topic needs to be further explored as it is probable that some of these texts were also recited in a liturgical context. In the Mishnah, it is stated that the Decalogue and *Shema* were said together with the daily blessing in the Temple and during the Sabbath when the priestly course changed (*m. Tamid* 5.1).

The Septuagint of Deuteronomy

'Translation is an act of interpretation.' This axiom is as true today as it was in the ancient world. The grandson, who translated his grandfather Jesus son of Eleazar's book of wisdom in the second century BCE, formulated in the preface what every translator or bilingual person knows intuitively that 'what was originally expressed in Hebrew [or in any language] does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language', in this case the language was Greek (*Prologue of the Wisdom of Ben Sira* 21-22).

The Septuagint of Deuteronomy is first and foremost a Greek translation of a Hebrew text. It may be assumed that the Hebrew *Vorlage* was the proto-Masoretic Text that eventually became the authoritative edition of the Hebrew Bible for the rabbis, although there are passages where the Septuagint reflects in its translation a variant not found in the MT. Some of these variants have now been recovered from one or more Qumran manuscripts (such as Deut. 32.8 and 33.12). Qumran, moreover, preserves a first-century BCE Greek fragment that agrees with the Septuagint of Deut. 11.4 (4QLXXDeuteronomy [4Q122], frg. 1).⁵⁷

The Greek translator of Deuteronomy was presumably an Alexandrian who lived in the third century BCE. Overall, his translation has been characterized by

56. 'Excerpted and Abbreviated', pp. 598-99.

57. See E. C. Ulrich's editio princeps in P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich *et al.* (eds), *Qumran Cave 4. IV Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 195-97.

John Wevers and the team of Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl as ‘conservative’ and less free than the Greek version of Genesis. In fact, its technique has been described as ‘un style décalqué’⁵⁸ or a style of translation that is a virtual tracing of the original source text. For instance, the use of parts of the body in Hebrew idiom is followed slavishly (ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν for *mifneyhem* when it simply means ‘from them’, Deut. 20.3). But it is not barbaric and unintelligible Greek as, say, in the infamous translation of Aquila.⁵⁹ The LXX of Deuteronomy is readable for its intended Greek-speaking audience and is faithful to the Jewish religion. No overarching theological *Tendenz* can be detected in the translation. The translator was preoccupied with rendering the text from one language to another; he was focused on the task before him and did not have the luxury to reflect on broader issues.

However, every one interprets as he transforms the words in one language to another and the Greek translator of Deuteronomy was no different. Sometimes he is successful, as in the apt use of the genitive absolute (6.4; 8.13; 9.9; 31.27), optative (28.67; 29.18) and Greek idiom (πάλιν 30.3). Other times he needs to beg the tolerance of his readers for what Ben Sira’s grandson describes as the rendering of ‘some phrases imperfectly’: for instance, he uses in several places the genitive, rather than an adjective, in a simulated attempt to imitate the Hebrew construct (e.g., ἡμέρας αἰῶνος, Deut. 32.7).

The Septuagint, then, is not just a translation but also an interpretation of Deuteronomy. There is a concern to disambiguate, to contemporize and to harmonize readings with other biblical texts and contemporary Jewish practice. For instance, the translator adds the verb ‘roast’ (ὀπτήσεις) to chapter 16, verse 7 in order to specify that the paschal offering must not only be boiled in water, but also roasted by fire. LXX Deuteronomy is a harmonization of two incompatible laws: Exod. 12.8–9 forbade emphatically the cooking of the lamb in any way with water, prescribing instead its roasting over the fire (cf. 1 Sam. 2.15); the MT of Deut. 16.7, however, uses the verb *bashal* ‘to boil’ for cooking. The Septuagint of Deuteronomy combines these two laws, so that the meat must be both boiled and roasted (compare 2 Chron. 35.13 and its resolution of the laws). As Wevers rightly asked, ‘Could this then have reflected local practice in Alexandria?’⁶⁰

The degree of interpretative intervention varies in different sections of LXX Deuteronomy. Dogniez and Harl suggested that it is infrequent in the first eleven chapters. In the legal section (chs 12–26), the divergences are of a technical nature: for instance, substituting ‘ruler’ (ἄρχοντα) for ‘king’ (*melekh*) in 17.14; offering a doublet translation of *qedesha* and *qadesh* with πόρνη and πορνεύων (female and male prostitutes respectively) as well as τελεσφόρος (‘an initiate’) and τελισκόμενος (‘one initiated’) in 23.18, as a condemnation of the rites of the mystery cults;⁶¹ and the amelioration of forbidden practices by translating ‘one

58. *Le Deutéronome*, pp. 30–3.

59. Jerome, for instance, described Aquila’s translation as ‘quod Graecae et Latina lingua omnino non recepit’. For a recent discussion of literalism, see my *Holy Scripture*, pp. 42–4 and ch. 4.

60. *Notes on the Greek Text*, pp. 268–69.

61. Cf. Philo, *Special Laws* 1.319. See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, pp. 39 and 262;

who causes to pass through' (*ma'abir*) to 'purifying cultically' (περικαθαίρων) in 18.10-11. A particularly important interpretation for the book of Deuteronomy is the Septuagint's establishment of the uniqueness of the place of the Jewish cult by translating 'in one of (ἐν μιᾷ) your tribes (or cities)' for 'out of all your tribes' (*mikhol shibteykhem*) of 12.5.⁶² In the final section (chs 27-34), the interpretative elements are most numerous and they reflect the intention of the translator to express Yahweh's love for his dispersed people.⁶³ there is an avoidance of the divine contempt (31.20); divine punishment is ostensibly weakened (28.37); the acts of goodness are underscored (32.10-13); and there is an insistence on the privilege of God's people (32.8-9; 32.35; 32.43 etc).

Some Interpretations of Deuteronomy

The Sectarian Scrolls

On virtually every page and column of Second Temple Jewish literature, one is able to detect a verbatim citation, *oratio obliqua* or allusion to a deuteronomistic source.⁶⁴ Take the pesharim. There is no peshar to Deuteronomy. Yet Deuteronomy can be detected in the phrases of the continuous pesharim. One only needs to point by way of example to the well-known word-play on 'circumcision' in the Habakkuk Peshar 11.8-15 where the lemma's 'stagger' (*hera'el*) becomes 'be uncircumcised' (*he'arel*) in the comment. Now this passage is often discussed in order to illustrate the pesharist's use of variants found in the LXX and MT.⁶⁵ What is not widely recognized is that the pesharite comment, 'he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart' ('*orlat libo*'), is in fact an allusion to Deut. 10.16 ('circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart [*'orlat lebabekhem*']; cf. Deut. 30.6).⁶⁶ Reading the deuteronomistic context into 1QpHab, it is evident that the pesharist believed that the Wicked Priest's ignominy is greater than his glory because the latter 'walked in the ways of drunkenness' rather than those of Yahweh (Deut. 10.12).

Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text*, pp. 371-72.

62. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, p. 194n.

63. The translator rendered the 'horror' of Deut 28.25 by ἐν διασπορᾷ (cf. Deut. 30.4), a reference to the Babylonian exile (cf. Jer. 41 [34].17). Wevers comments, '[w]hat makes this interesting is that the Alexandrian interprets the diaspora as a divine punishment' (*Notes on the Greek Text*, p. 438).

64. See the list of passages of Deuteronomy in S. Delamarter, *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 68-70; and D. L. Washburn, *A Catalogue of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), pp. 56-75.

65. See my *Pesharim* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 54-5.

66. See also M. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), pp. 244-45, who notes that the same phrase occurs not just in this Deuteronomy passage, but also in Jer. 4.4 (cf. 1QS 5.5). It is, of course, possible that the pesharist was using the deuteronomistic phrase reflexively rather than intentionally.

Another celebrated example is the reference to hanging as a form of execution in Peshar Nahum (4Q169, frs. 3–4, col. 1, l. 7), ‘he will hang men alive’, meaning either crucifixion or hanging by a rope. The source passage is Deut. 21.22–23, which in its original context refers to the law concerning the impalement of a corpse, with a vital inversion of word order to ‘you shall hang him’ and ‘he shall die’ (cf. The Temple Scroll 64.6–13) that makes it read as a passage about an execution.⁶⁷

Deuteronomy does not just figure in the pesharim,⁶⁸ but also in the rules. The Rule of the Community quotes the blessing of Deuteronomy 29.18 in the ceremony of the annual renewal of the covenant (1QS 2.13–14). In the admonitions section of the Damascus Document, Deuteronomy is cited with introductory formula four times (Deut. 7.9; 9.5; 17.17; and 32.33) and alluded to twenty-eight times.⁶⁹

On occasion, it is easy to identify the source from the book of Deuteronomy, whereas other times the phrase identified is ‘deuteronomistic’, that is another biblical source that has been influenced by the fifth book of the Pentateuch. George J. Brooke, for instance, has argued that quite apart from the chronology of the Flood story, the exegesis of Genesis in 4Q252 is replete with references to Deuteronomy. The ‘deuteronomic ethos’ is applied retrospectively to the patriarchal period and Deuteronomy is understood as normative for both Israel’s history in Canaan and the eschatological period. As for column 5 and its interpretation of Genesis 49.10a, a most ‘deuteronomistic’ passage of Jer. 33.17 is cited which, for Brooke, points to the levitical circles of the text’s compiler.⁷⁰

The Temple Scroll

Surely the non-biblical Qumran text that has been most influenced by Deuteronomy is the Temple Scroll.⁷¹ Two copies from Cave 11 are preserved in 11QTS^a (11Q19) and 11QTS^b (11Q20), dating to the Herodian period. Two other copies, 4Q365a and 11Q21, are possibly copies or sources of the Temple Scroll; their literary genre has been debated. The oldest text, at least by palaeographical dating, is 4QRouleau du Temple or 4QTemple Scroll^b (4Q524), dating to 150–25 BCE. The Temple Scroll, according to 11QTS^a, is a systematic rewriting of the biblical texts of Exodus and Deuteronomy according to a thematic order.

67. See *Holy Scripture*, pp. 165–67 where I discuss how Paul’s exegesis in Galatians falls along the same tradition.

68. Deut. 15.2 is cited together with Lev. 25.13 in 11QMelch 2.2–3 as a proof-text for the year of Jubilee and the role of the heavenly redeemer figure. See also, D. Katzin, “‘The Time of Testing’: The Use of Hebrew Scriptures in 4Q171’s Peshar of Psalm 37”, *Hebrew Studies* 45 (2004), pp. 121–62, who argues for a deuteronomic underpinning of the psalms peshar.

69. J. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8*, 19–20 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), p. 179.

70. ‘The Deuteronomic Character of 4Q252’, in J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen (eds), *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 121–35.

71. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), I, pp. 46–70, lists the biblical sources.

It has been called 'a new Deuteronomy', 'the Qumran torah', 'the sixth book of the torah' or 'rewritten bible'; although, the original title of 'Temple Scroll' remains suitable as a description of at least one major section of the text. The scroll can be divided, with Johann Maier, into three parts: (1) Introduction: Incorporation in the Sinai Covenant (col. 2); (2) the Sanctuary in the Holy City and its cult (cols 3-48); and (3) the laws of general application (cols 48-66).⁷² This division highlights the major sections of the scroll. Yadin called it 'the Temple Scroll' because nearly half of the scroll concerns the plans for the temple, sacrifices and the laws of the city of the temple. It provides the plans of the temple that were apparently known (1 Chron. 28.11-19), but not preserved in the biblical tradition.⁷³

As a title, 'the Temple Scroll' does not adequately express the many other laws and topics treated in this longest of Qumran scrolls. Another major portion of the scroll concerns the 'Statutes of the King' which include laws relating to the royal marriage, rules of war and provisions for an advisory council and other administrative positions. These regulations again fill a gap in the biblical text. While still in the wilderness, the Israelites were enjoined to appoint a king after they enter the Promised Land (Deut. 17.14-15). A few of the royal rights and duties are recorded in Deut. 17.15-20, including reading, learning and keeping all the words, statutes and commandments found in the book before the king.⁷⁴

As discussed above, the mention of the book or 'a copy of this law' (Deut. 17.18) has been interpreted as a reference to Deuteronomy itself. In the Temple Scroll it has been adopted with a difference.

When you come to the land which I give you, and you possess it and dwell in it, then say, 'I wi[ll] set a king over me, like all the nations that are around about me,' you may set there as king over you [him whom I shall choose]. One from among your brethren you shall set as king over you; you shall not put a foreigner over you, who is not your brother. Only he must not multiply horses for himself, or cause the people to return to Egypt for war,⁷⁵ in order to multiply horses for himself and silver and gold, *since I said to you, 'you shall never return that way again.'* And he shall not multiply wives for himself, lest they turn away his heart from me; nor shall he greatly multiply for himself silver and gold. And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, they shall write for him *this law (ha-torah ha-zo 't)* in a book from that which is in charge of the priest (1QTS 56.12-21, translation Yadin with modifications).

An important divergence from Deuteronomy is the omission of *mishneh* 'a copy'. Whereas the biblical text refers to 'a copy of this law', meaning Deuteronomy, 'this law' refers to the Temple Scroll itself.⁷⁶

72. *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (ET; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 8-19.

73. 'The Temple Scroll - the Longest Dead Sea Scroll', in Hershel Shanks (ed.), *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Random House, 1992), p. 99.

74. As a warning against what a king will do, see also 1 Sam. 8.10-18.

75. The addition of 'for war' may be a halakhic explanation, prohibiting war, but not trade and other peaceful interchange, with Egypt.

76. Nonetheless, Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, I, pp. 344-45, 397 and II, pp. 252-54, wants to suggest, rather tortuously, that despite this omission the Temple Scroll really is 'the Second Torah'. If

The phrase, 'I said to you' is notable as it is a change from the third person of Deut. 17.16 ('since the Lord has said to you'). It is a distinguishing characteristic of the Temple Scroll to personalize the biblical text, making its message immediate by transforming the narrative voice from third to first person. Much has been rightly made of this feature, some calling it a 'literary fiction', a technique that circumvents the intermediary role of Moses by making Yahweh appear to speak directly to the readers of the scroll. It attests to a self-referencing authority that is found in other works of the rewritten bible genre. For some this is a sectarian torah, given the significant points of contact between the Temple Scroll's teachings about polygamy, incest and sexual activity within the city of the temple and the Damascus Document. Others see it as part of the torah of Jews in the Second Temple Period.⁷⁷

The whole of the Temple Scroll is shot through with the influence of the book of Deuteronomy. The 'statutes of the king' belongs to the final section of the scroll, columns 51-66, that can be described as a deuteronomistic paraphrase. Crawford states summarily, 'the book of Deuteronomy serves as the base text, and it even follows the essential order of Deuteronomy 12-26'.⁷⁸

Philo

As is widely recognized, the writings of Philo of Alexandria comprise a synthesis of Jewish biblical exegesis and Greek philosophical tradition. His interpretations of the first five books of Moses are characterized by the allegorical method, a technique already used by the author of *Aristeas to Philocrates* (147-52) before him. The literal words are set aside in favour of a symbolic understanding of the biblical texts. Philo noticeably sees Deuteronomy in different light, depending upon the context in which he refers to the fifth book of the Pentateuch: he uses the Septuagint title *deuteronomion* when quoting biblical verses in *Allegorical Interpretation* 3.174 and *On the Unchangeableness of God* 50; to emphasize its admonitory nature he describes it as *protreptikoi (logoi)* in *On Husbandry* 78, 172, *On Flight and Finding* 142, 170, *On the Changing of Names* 42, *On the Virtues* 27, but *paraineseis* in *On Husbandry* 84 and *Special Laws* 4.131; and he adopts the title *epinomis* to emphasize the book's summative character in *Who is the Heir?* 162, 250 and *On the Special Laws* 4.160.

Philo's interpretation of Deuteronomy can be detected in various places of his *oeuvre*, but it figures prominently in the following works. *On Rewards and Punishments* is a work modelled on the blessing and curses of Deuteronomy (79), although the discourse is couched in the philosophical language of 'Middle Platonism'. He uses the Ten Commandments as legal headings (*kephalaia nomon*)

so, then, 'new Deuteronomy' would be a better title.

77. Most notably, H. Stegemann, 'The Qumran Essenes-Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in the Second Temple Times', in J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (eds), *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 18-21 March 1991* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), I, pp. 83-166.

78. *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), p. 57.

for discussing particular laws in *On the Decalogue* 154–75. The Decalogue was given by God himself ‘in his own person’, whereas the particular laws by his most perfect Prophet Moses (175). Finally, in *On the Special Laws I–IV*, he details the laws of Deuteronomy as well as those from the rest of the Pentateuch. The organizing principle here is the legal headings of the Ten Commandments which he moreover divides into two groups, one concerning man’s relation to God and the other to his neighbour.

According to Dogniez and Harl,⁷⁹ Philo’s study of the law is aimed at knowledge of God which will result in the fullness of happiness and the true life (*On the Special Laws* 1.345). For him the law is the philosophy of the Jews that must be remembered by heart and set between the eyes and on the hand. Philo’s reading of Deuteronomy is remarkable in underscoring the sovereignty of God by privileging certain verses from Deuteronomy. In *On Dreams* 2.17–30, Philo cites Deut. 1.17 to bolster the point that the virtuous man, while able to judge and distinguish matters, should give up this ability in obedience to the Moses’ saying that ‘judgement belongs to God’, emphatically adding the variant ‘only’ (2.24). A similar affinity for Deut. 8.17–18 is noticed. As a pious, Jewish reader of Deuteronomy, Philo highly values the philanthropic figure of Moses, the sage of Israel, who can moreover save the world, though there is no reference to a ‘prophet like Moses’ of Deut. 18.15. He also underscores the need for man to choose the true life as the Levites have done, citing Deut. 4.4 and 30.15, 20 in support of this religious sentiment.

Josephus

Josephus’s use of Deuteronomy is consistent with his role as historian of the Jewish people. His works are an indispensable source for the history, belief and practice of ancient Judaism. Josephus was neither a philosopher nor an exegete like Philo. He lived in first-century Palestine before moving to Rome and he believed that Jewish law was a matter of ethnic pride, being both more ancient and so esteemed than the Greek counterparts and civilized and humane (*Against Apion* 2.151–235). He was concerned in defending the Jewish people against the malicious lies of detractors and his concern was to set the record straight about the history, religion and nature of the Judaism. He boasts that all Jews know their law, having been taught it from infancy, and that hardly a transgressor can be found (178). He never uses the term *deuteronomion*, but instead ends his paraphrase of it by stating that ‘these laws and this constitution’ are recorded in a book (*Ant.* 4.194).

Josephus paraphrases Deuteronomy in *Jewish Antiquities* 4.176–331, apparently adding nothing⁸⁰ to that which was bequeathed by Moses save the innovation ‘to classify the several subjects’ (196–97). What he does, in fact, is to systematize

79. *Le Deutéronome*, pp. 47, 69–71, 82–3.

80. For a fine discussion of Josephus’s promise not to modify scripture, see L. H. Feldman, ‘Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus’ in M. J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), pp. 466–70. See also my discussion of ‘non addetis, neque auferetis’, in *Holy Scripture*, pp. 34–40.

the discussion of subjects, gathering passages from various places of the Pentateuch, in an effort to make the whole more coherent and logical. There is perhaps an implied criticism of the biblical tradition when he states that Moses 'left what he wrote in a scattered condition'.⁸¹ The deuteronomic source, thus reassembled, is particularly prominent in the regulations of the political constitution: legislation governing the Holy City, temple and cult (176-213; Deuteronomy 12 and Exodus 20), the administration of justice (214-18; Deuteronomy 16), witnesses (219; Deuteronomy 19), undetected murder (220-21; Deuteronomy 21), the king (223-25; Deuteronomy 17), the displacement of boundary markers (225; Deuteronomy 19), the fruit of the fourth year (226; Leviticus 19), the mixing of kinds (228-30; Deuteronomy 22 and Leviticus 19), various laws of charity (231-39; Deuteronomy 24 and Leviticus 19), tithes (240-43; Deuteronomy 14 and 26), marital laws (244-59; Deuteronomy 21-22, 24-25 and Leviticus 21), rebellious children (260-65; Deuteronomy 21), and usury and loans (266-70; Deuteronomy 23-24). The remaining legislation draws from parallel passages in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy (270-314).⁸²

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it is useful to highlight what we have discussed in this survey of Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period. First, it has been argued that the interpretation of Deuteronomy should begin with the transmission history of the text itself. More and more one reads of 'the final form' of Deuteronomy, or another biblical text, in the study of ancient biblical interpretation, as though the text itself had been frozen in time when the New Testament authors read it. Such a view of Deuteronomy is artificial and unwarranted, as there was not one definitive text before or even after what is usually considered the fixation of the MT in 100 CE. One suspects that it is expediency and conservatism that drive the scholarly equation of the book with Deuteronomy in Codex Leningradensis. Even the Masoretic Text that emerged as the authoritative edition is not one text, but a group of texts as has been recognized long ago.

Second, Deuteronomy was a text that was excerpted and anthologized for various purposes that remain only partially clear. It is true that at least one probable use is for devotion and liturgy as evidenced by the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, but much more work could be done to explain how various communities isolated, extracted and abbreviated passages from Deuteronomy for private reading, communal study, worship, prayer and intra-sectarian polemics.

Third, while the Qumran manuscripts of Deuteronomy primarily attest to the proto-MT, it must be recognized that they nonetheless include important individual

81. This may well be a reference to the tradition that the law was given to Moses 'roll by roll' (see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities I-IV* LCL [London: Heinemann, 1930], p. 571 n. b), but the fact that Josephus reassembled the material is an indication that he was dissatisfied with their presentation in the biblical texts.

82. There is a similar systematic treatment of the precepts and prohibitions of Jewish law in *Against Apion* 2.190-219.

variants. This is especially important in evaluating Deuteronomy in the New Testament where usually a selected quotation, and not the whole book, is in view.

Fourth, the Septuagint of Deuteronomy is a literal translation without an overt theological *Tendenz*. But in its attempt to understand the Hebrew words and phrases and to convey them to a Greek-speaking, Alexandrian audience, it also interprets, adds and changes details, both minor and more important ones. Important nuances may be deduced by a close study of its translational technique and exegetical interventions.

Fifth, Jewish literature of the Second Temple period is replete with references to Deuteronomy. The sectarian scrolls, such as the pesharim, intentionally allude to or reflexively apply phrases from the fifth book of the Pentateuch. The most striking example of deuteronomistic influence in the Qumran scrolls, however, is to be found in the Temple Scroll. In virtually every column and phrase, one can detect an implicit reference to Deuteronomy. The long, last section of the scroll is a well-nigh deuteronomistic paraphrase.

Sixth, Philo's reading of Deuteronomy has been discussed. Clearly, for this Alexandrian philosopher, the symbolic, rather than the literal, sense of Deuteronomy is its true meaning. He understood it, with the Septuagint, as 'the second law', but also a treatise of admonition and summation of the mosaic laws. For him, the divinely inspired Decalogue is not just the Ten Commandments, but legal headings under which he discusses the particular laws of Moses.

Finally, our survey of some of the main uses ended with the paraphrase of Deuteronomy by Josephus in his recounting of the history of the Jewish people. For this first-century CE Jewish historian, knowledge of the 'laws and constitutions' is a matter of ethnic pride, distinguishing the Jews from the rest of the ancient peoples. In paraphrasing Deuteronomy, Josephus systematizes and reassembles passages from it and the rest of the Pentateuch in an attempt to make his discussion of the regulations of the political constitution more coherent.

Chapter 2

DEUTERONOMY IN MARK'S GOSPEL

Steve Moyise

Introduction

Mark's Gospel contains five or six quotations from the book of Deuteronomy (depending on how multiple verses are counted and whether the commandments are quoted from Deuteronomy or Exodus). The first is the command to honour father and mother (Deut. 5.16 or Exod. 20.12), which occurs in the controversy story concerning eating with unwashed hands (Mk 7.10). The second is the regulation concerning divorce (Deut. 24.13), which is quoted by the Pharisees in Mk 10.4. The third is the second table of the Ten Commandments, which occurs in the discussion with the rich man in Mk 10.19. Mark's list is unusual in that he includes a command not to defraud (omitted in some manuscripts and absent from the Matthean and Lukan parallels). The fourth is the rule of levirate marriage (Deut. 25.5), quoted by the Sadducees in their attempt to ridicule belief in the resurrection (Mk 12.19). The fifth is the creedal statement that 'The Lord is one' (Deut. 4.35/Mk 12.29), along with the command to 'love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength' (Deut. 6.5/Mk 12.30). It is noteworthy that two out of these five examples are on the lips of Jesus' opponents and that all five occur in the central chapters of the Gospel.

NA²⁷ also lists ten allusions to Deuteronomy, though in a few cases, there is little reason to think that attention is being drawn to them. We will discuss the more significant allusions after we have discussed the explicit quotations.¹

Quotations

Deut. 5.16 in Mk 7.10

The first section of this complex controversy story concerns hand-washing rituals (Mk 7.2, 5) and ends with Jesus quoting Isa. 29.13 and pronouncing: 'You

1. Mk 14.12 and 15.42 are general references to Passover preparations and Mk 14.56 notes that the witnesses at the trial could not agree, a possible allusion to the legal requirement to have two or three witnesses (Deut. 17.6; 19.15). More significant are the references to picking corn on the sabbath (Mk 2.23/Deut. 5.12-15; 23.25), the promise of a 'prophet like Moses' (Mk 9.4, 7/Deut. 18.15), parallels with the apocalyptic discourse in Mark 13 (Deut. 4.32; 13.1-2, 6; 30.4), and the statement that there will always be poor among you (Mk 14.7/Deut. 15.11).

abandon the commandment [singular] of God and hold to human tradition' (7.8). There then follows an example (somewhat awkwardly connected) where Jesus accuses them of abusing their tradition of Corban, that is, devoting property or goods to God, in plain contradiction to the fifth commandment, 'Honour your father and your mother' (Deut. 5.16 or Exod. 20.12), along with a penalty: 'Whoever speaks evil of father or mother must surely die' (Exod. 21.17 and/or Lev. 20.9). The double use of the possessive pronoun ('your father and your mother') agrees with Deut. 5.16, whereas the LXX of Exod. 20.12 omits the pronoun before mother (according to the texts of both Rahlfs and Göttingen). However, the penalty text is more complicated and could suggest that Mark found both quotations in his source.²

Though the rhetoric of the accusation is clear (using human tradition to avoid the obligations of the fifth commandment), the logic is less so. The Jesus tradition does contain sayings where the swearing of oaths is forbidden (Mt. 5.34-37; Jas 5.12) but that does not seem to be the issue here. The focus is not on the person taking the oath but the Pharisees and scribes who 'no longer permit doing anything for a father or mother' (Mk 7.12). The implication is that the Pharisees and scribes regard such oaths as binding, even if that leads to hardship for one's parents. However, this is not the rabbinic view according to the Mishnah (*m. Ned.* 9.1), which explicitly states that in such circumstances, the fifth commandment should take priority over the vow. It would appear that Mark is either making his point by misrepresenting the views of the Pharisees or that their rigorous position was later softened by the second-century rabbis.³

The third section of the controversy is marked by a break ('Then he called the crowd again') and perhaps by a different subject. Jesus begins by quoting an aphorism that 'there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile' (Mk 7.16). Lest anyone take this too literally (eating and excreting), Jesus clarifies that it is not food going into the stomach (or coming out) that defiles but the evil that is within. Mark then draws the conclusion that Jesus 'declared all foods clean' (Mk 7.19). Interpretations of this pericope can

2. In this instance, Mark omits the pronouns found in both Exod. 21.17 and Lev. 20.9 and uses the imperative rather than the future of τελευτάω for 'must surely die'. Marcus thinks that Mark has conflated the two texts since although Lev. 20.9 uses a different verb (θανατόω), it is in the imperative. See J. Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation and Commentary* (AB 27; New York: Doubleday, 2000), p. 445.

3. France thinks the Mishnah also knows of the rigorous view. There is a story in *m. Ned.* 5.6 where 'a man who had excluded his father under such a vow from any enjoyment of his property now wished to evade the force of his oath so as to enable the father to join in his grandson's wedding feast; he therefore made a gift of his courtyard and the feast to a friend, so that his father could be admitted to what was now the friend's property, but the friend in turn made a similar vow with regard to his newly acquired property, thus frustrating the donor's intention! This case illustrates two points relevant to our passage: (i) the original *qorban* vow was regarded as unalterable, even though the son himself now wished to repeal it; (ii) the property so "dedicated" remained still at the son's disposal, even though out of his father's reach. It is such a situation which is apparently presupposed by Jesus' comments here.' See R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), p. 287.

be divided into three categories: (1) Jesus' aphorism implies his rejection of the food laws and Mark simply makes this more explicit;⁴ (2) Jesus did not reject the food laws but Mark has drawn this conclusion for his Gentile readers;⁵ (3) Neither Jesus nor Mark rejected the food laws.⁶

To understand Mark's use of Deuteronomy, two factors need to be considered. First, the command to honour father and mother is intensified by being linked to the command that those who speak evil of father and mother should be put to death. Depriving one's parents of the necessities of life is apparently equivalent to cursing them (κακολογῶν). Secondly, the position one adopts about the food laws inevitably affects how one understands Mark's view of the law. If one adopts either the first or second positions above, then it would appear that Mark's Jesus not only draws a distinction between God-given law and human tradition but also between different parts of the law. If one adopts the third position, then there is a consistent portrayal of Jesus upholding the law against later *halacha* expansions. We will return to this question when we have seen more examples of Mark's use of Deuteronomy.⁷

Deut. 24.1, 3 in Mk 10.4

This pericope on marriage and divorce begins with a question from the Pharisees ('Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?'), which Mark tells us was a test. Jesus responds by asking them a question: 'What did Moses *command* you?' Predictably, they answer by citing words from Deut. 24.1-4, the only passage in the law to speak about divorce, and conclude that, 'Moses *allowed* a man to write a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her' (Mk 10.4).⁸ Jesus then responds by stating that Moses wrote this *commandment* 'because of your hardness of heart' but God's will is expressed in the creation stories, where 'God made them male and female' (Gen. 1.27) and 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife,⁹ and the two shall become one flesh' (Gen. 2.24).

4. 'The aphorism – it's not what goes in but what comes out that defiles – is a categorical challenge to the laws governing pollution and purity'. R. W. Funk *et al.*, *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (New York: Polebridge Press, 1993), p. 69.

5. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), p. 266.

6. J. G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark's Gospel. Insight from the Law in Earliest Christianity* (JSNTSup, 266; London & New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), pp. 228–31. His argument is threefold: (1) It is highly unlikely that Mark would present Jesus using an aphorism to undermine the food laws when he has just berated the Pharisees for 'making void the word of God through your tradition'; (2) we are told in Mk 7.2, 5 that the controversy is about handwashing rituals, not clean and unclean food; (3) there exist *halacha* traditions that impurity can pass from hands to food to eater via liquid. Mark's Jesus denies this *halacha* but there is no indication that this applies to foods which are already declared unclean by the law.

7. See further, J. Svartik, *Mark and Mission: Mark 7.1-23 in its Narrative and Historical Contexts* (ConBNT, 32; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2000).

8. Mark agrees with the LXX in using βιβλίον ἀποστάσιου for the 'certificate of dismissal' but his verb for divorce (ἀπολύω) is not found in Deut. 24.1-4, which uses ἐξαποστέλλω for 'send her away'. Little can be gleaned from this about the nature of Mark's source.

9. The words 'and be joined to his wife' are omitted by κ B Ψ 892* 2427 sy^a but favoured by

Though divorce is not mentioned in these texts, Jesus deduces that 'one flesh' implies the impossibility of separation, and so concludes that the one who 'divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery' (Mk 10.11), along with its corollary, 'and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery' (Mk 10.12).¹⁰

Marriage and divorce were keenly debated in the Second Temple period, and in rabbinic literature, an entire tractate is devoted to it (*Gittin*). Much of the debate focused on the meaning of the phrase 'something objectionable' in Deut. 24.1. The school of Shammai took the rigorous view that divorce should only be permitted for some shameful act, whereas the school of Hillel took the more liberal view that it could be for a variety of faults, even as trivial as spoiling the dinner (*m. Git.* 9.10). Josephus appears to support the latter view for he paraphrases Deut. 24.1 with the words, 'He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him for whatsoever cause – and with mortals many such may arise – must certify in writing that he will have no further intercourse with her' (*Ant.* 5.253). At Qumran, divorce is accepted without comment in CD 13.17 and 11QT 54.4-5 but CD 4.20-5.2 accuses the 'builders of the wall' of unchastity because 'they take two wives in their lives, while the foundation of creation is male and female he created them'. The suffix on 'lives' is masculine, which, according to Westerholm, 'suggests that the sectarians were opposed to any second marriage for a man, whether the first had been terminated by death or divorce'.¹¹ If this is true, it could be that the 'test' of the Pharisees was to see if Jesus agreed with the Qumran heretics (as they saw them). However, Brewer thinks this text is primarily about polygamy (not having two wives simultaneously) and so does not contradict the permissive view found elsewhere in the scrolls.¹²

What is striking about the way Mark presents this debate is that Jesus contrasts a *command of Moses* with the *will of God* expressed in the creation stories. Two arguments are used to support this. First, Jesus claims that the command was given 'πρός your hardness of heart'. Most commentators take the πρὸς to mean 'with regard to' or 'because of' and the 'your' to refer to humanity in general or perhaps the Jewish race.¹³ In other words, the command of Deut. 24.1-4 does not express the will of God but was a concession to human weakness. Secondly, the

most modern commentators. See D. S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis* (SBLSCS, 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 82-5.

10. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (p. 394) suggests this could be evidence for the Roman origin of the Gospel, since Roman law permitted either party to initiate divorce but this was restricted to men in Jewish law.

11. S. Westerholm, *Jesus and Scribal Authority* (ConBNT, 7; Lund: Gleerup, 1978), p. 116. So also W. R. G. Loader, *Jesus' Attitude to the Law* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002 [1997]), p. 89.

12. D. I. Brewer, 'Jesus' Old Testament Basis for Monogamy', in S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (JSNTSup, 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 75-105.

13. R. H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) insists that the 'your' relates only to the Pharisees and thus cannot be the reason Moses gave such a command. He takes πρὸς in a telic sense to mean that Moses gave the command in order to 'incite the Pharisees to divorce their wives against God's ordinance' (p. 538).

creation stories take priority because they state what was so 'from the beginning of creation'. Powery draws a wide-ranging conclusion from this:

By the use of this wider narrative or script, Jesus levels the Mosaic law to a post-creation period for 'hardened' humanity. That is, it is not the ideal. Jesus' scriptural choice serves as a *corrective*. This interpretative tension (script against scripture) sets up elements in a hermeneutical (preferential) system: (1) God's act over Moses' commands; (2) the creation period as the ideal; and (3) historical narrative balances law.¹⁴

It is interesting that in Matthew's reordering of the material (Mt. 19.1-12), Jesus responds to the Pharisees' question by citing the Genesis texts, to which they then cite Deut. 24.1-3 as a challenge: 'Why then did Moses *command* us to give a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her?' (19.7). Jesus then states that it was because of your hardness of heart that Moses *allowed* divorce. Matthew is, of course, correct. Deut. 24.1-4 is not a 'command' to divorce but a piece of legislation outlawing a particular practice, namely, a man remarrying his divorced wife if she has since remarried (24.4). But Mark has Jesus asking the Pharisees what Moses commanded and when they cite phrases from Deut. 24.1, 3, he refers to it as 'this commandment'. France seeks to mitigate this by suggesting that Jesus must be referring to the whole of Deut. 24.1-4 since it is only v. 4 that is actually a commandment.¹⁵ But it is difficult to escape the consequence that Mark's Jesus is here playing off one Scripture against another.

Deut. 5.16-20/24.14 in Mk 10.19

Mark follows the discussion on marriage and divorce with the blessing of the children (Mk 10.13-16), followed by a dialogue with a rich man (Luke calls him a ruler). The man addresses Jesus with the unusual epithet, 'Good Teacher', followed by a question, 'what must I do to inherit eternal life?' (Mk 10.17) After a puzzling counter-question ('Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone'), Jesus responds by quoting from the second table of the ten commandments (Exod. 20.12-16/Deut. 5.16-20), along with a command not to defraud. The man responds that he has kept these since his youth, which, judging by Jesus response ('Jesus looking at him, loved him'), should be taken as sincere rather than arrogant. But Jesus continues: 'You lack one thing; go, sell what you own, and give the money to the poor; then come, follow me' (Mk 10.21). This is too much for the man, who 'went away grieving', leading to the pronouncement that it will be difficult (but not impossible) for rich people to enter the kingdom of God.

Mark's listing of the commandments could come from either Exodus or Deuteronomy or, given the fact that he uses a different construction to the LXX (μή + aorist subjunctive instead of οὐ + future) and a different order (honouring parents comes last), from the form being used in his church. The manuscript tradition shows considerable interference from parallel passages but according to Göttingen

14. E. B. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture: The Function of Jesus' Use of Scripture in the Synoptic Gospels* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 52.

15. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 391.

(LXX) and NA²⁷ (New Testament), the order of the commandments in the relevant texts is as follows.¹⁶

Exod. 20.12-17	Deut. 5.16-21	Mk 10.19	Mt. 19.18-19	Lk. 18.20	Rom. 13.9
honour	honour				
adultery	adultery	murder	murder	adultery	adultery
theft	murder	adultery	adultery	murder	murder
murder	theft	theft	theft	theft	theft
false witness	false witness	false witness	false witness	false witness	
covet	covet				covet
		defraud			
		honour	honour	honour	
			love neighbour		love neighbour

Two things call for comment. First, Mark cites the command to honour parents (present imperative as in LXX) in last position, perhaps to prepare for the man’s response that he has kept the commandments ‘since his youth’. It is interesting that the example chosen to illustrate hypocrisy in Mark 7 (Corban) leads to the accusation that ‘you no longer permit doing anything for a father or mother’ (Mk 7.12). On the other hand, if he were to obey Jesus’ command to give all his riches to the poor, he would likewise not be able to do anything for his parents. Secondly, Mark’s list contains a command not to defraud (absent from Matthew or Luke). Gundry suggests this is in place of the command not to covet because (a) it is more visible and thus allows the man to claim that he has kept the commandments since his youth, and (b) the rich have less need to covet but might well have gained their riches by defrauding.¹⁷ The exact wording of the fraud prohibition (μη ἀποστερήσης) occurs in Sir. 4.1, and almost (οὐκ ἀποστερήσεις) in some manuscripts of Deut. 24.14 (A, F), and is even italicized in NA²⁷. However, the Göttingen edition is almost certainly correct that the reading of Deut. 24.14 found in manuscripts A and F is the result of assimilation to Mark and not a text that Mark could have known. It seems most likely that Mark derived his form of the commandments from church tradition rather than an actual manuscript of Deuteronomy.¹⁸

The enigmatic reply, ‘Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone (εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός)’, could be an allusion to the opening of the *Shema* (Deut. 6.4): ‘Hear O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one’ (ὁ θεὸς ... εἰς ἐστιν). The verse is explicitly quoted in Mk 12.29 (see below) as the ‘first’ commandment and it is perhaps more likely that Jesus is directing the man to Israel’s central affirmation (‘God is One’) than to a general point about God’s goodness (‘God alone’).

16. The Masoretic Hebrew has the order: honour, murder, adultery, theft, false witness and covet in both Exodus and Deuteronomy but there are also variations in the Hebrew manuscripts. In the LXX tradition, Codex A appears to have conformed to the Hebrew order.

17. Gundry, *Mark*, p. 553.

18. To further complicate matters, μη ἀποστερήσης is omitted from some important manuscripts of Mark (B* K W Δ Ψ), though this can be explained as either assimilation to Matthew/Luke or the LXX. See New, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 71–7.

Exactly the same phrase is used in another incident (Mk 2.7) when the Pharisees ask, 'Who can forgive sins but God alone?' (εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός). Marcus notes that the numeral 'one' is not necessary for either of these sayings ('no one is good but God'/'who can forgive sins but God?'), so that had Mark wanted to express God's uniqueness, he could have used μόνος (as in Ps. 86.10; Isa. 37.16; Dan. 3.45). Marcus thus takes the numeral 'one' as a deliberate reference to the *Shema* for 'Mark is engaged in a creative struggle to reconcile exegetically the *Shema*'s affirmation of God's unity with scriptural passages that speak of exalted figures with great, even God-like authority'.¹⁹

Deut. 25.5 in Mk 12.19

In Mk 12.13-17, Pharisees and Herodians seek to trap Jesus by asking him if it is lawful to pay taxes. In the following incident (Mk 12.18-27), Sadducees concoct a story about seven brothers all marrying the same woman in order to ridicule belief in the resurrection. The story is based on the rules of levirate marriage found in Deut. 25.5 and a particular example narrated in Gen. 38.8:

<i>Deut. 25.5</i>	<i>Gen. 38.8</i>	<i>Mk 12.19</i>
When <i>brothers</i> reside together, and one of them <i>dies and has no son</i> , the wife of the deceased shall not be married outside the family to a stranger. Her husband's <i>brother</i> shall go in to her, <i>taking her in marriage</i> , and performing the duty of a husband's brother to her...	Then Judah said to Onan, 'Go in to your brother's wife and perform the duty of a brother-in-law to her; <i>raise up offspring for your brother</i> .'	Teacher, Moses wrote for us that if a man's brother dies, leaving a wife but no child, the man shall marry the widow and raise up ²⁰ children for his brother.

Jesus' reply consists of a rhetorical question ('Is not this the reason that you are wrong, that you know neither the scriptures nor the power of God?'), a statement ('For when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven') and a scriptural defence of resurrection ('I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'). This does not appear to have much to do with an interpretation of Deut. 25.5 (and there is little verbal similarity to deduce anything about the possible text-form) but it does tell us a great deal about Mark's portrayal of Jesus' hermeneutics. First, it is not enough to cite individual texts. Knowing Scripture means knowing how different texts relate to one another (cf. Deuteronomy 24 and Genesis 1-2). Secondly, as

19. J. Marcus, 'Authority to Forgive Sins Upon Earth', in C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner (eds), *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNTSup, 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 208-9. He thus takes Jesus' reply as a real question: 'What is your basis for calling me good, seeing that no one is good except God?' (p. 209). Matthew has reworded the exchange so that the man does not say, 'Good teacher, what must I do...?' but 'Teacher, what good deed must I do...?' (Mt. 19.16) and has Jesus respond, 'Why do you ask me about what is good?' Luke agrees with Mark.

20. It is perhaps surprising that Mark uses the compound ἐξανάσπτησις instead of the ἀνάσπτησιν in LXX Gen. 38.8, which would have provided a good link with resurrection (ἀνάστασις), as perhaps Matthew noticed.

Powery observes, scriptural interpretation according to Mark requires a proper theology of God. It is not a literal or historical interpretation but one that stems from a specific theological conviction ('He is God not of the dead, but of the living').²¹ Meier suggests the logic of the scriptural proof is as follows:

1. *Major Premise*: According to God's self-chosen definition, the very being of God involves being the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This is his permanent self-definition.
2. *Minor Premise*: But, as the whole of the Old Testament proclaims, God is God only of the living, not the defiling, unclean dead, with whom he has no relation.
3. *Unspoken Conclusion*: Therefore, if God's being is truly defined by his permanent relationship to the three patriarchs, the three patriarchs must be (now or in the future) living and in living relationship to God.²²

Since Mark has Jesus frequently quote from the Psalms and the prophets,²³ one might have expected a 'more convincing' proof-text such as Dan. 12.2 ('Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt'). However, Mark's Jesus is aware of the dispute between Sadducees and Pharisees concerning resurrection (12.18) and probably also aware that the Sadducees would have demanded proof from the Torah. This Jesus offers, thus demonstrating his authority as an interpreter of Scripture, and the ongoing importance of Torah.

Deut. 6.4-5; 4.35 in Mk 12.29-33

Mark tells us that a scribe heard this dispute and asked Jesus: 'Which commandment is the first of all?' (12.28). Jesus replies by citing the opening words of the *Shema* (Deut. 6.4-5): 'Hear O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one; you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' He adds a second, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself', from Lev. 19.18, and concludes that 'There is no other commandment greater than these'. Rather strangely, Mark then has the scribe repeat Jesus' answer but in a different form. Beginning with an affirmation ('You are right, Teacher; you have truly said that') and an oddly familiar reference to God ('he is one'), he adds 'and besides him there is no other', possibly taken

21. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture*, p. 69. Schüssler Fiorenza makes a different point. The Sadducees not only have a faulty theology of resurrection, they also have a faulty patriarchal understanding of marriage ('whose wife will she be?'). Jesus challenges this with his view of the afterlife, where 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage'. See E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (rev. edn; London: SCM, 1994), pp. 143-45.

22. J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew, Vol 2: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), pp. 429-30.

23. Isa. 6.6 (4.12); Isa. 29.13 (7.6-7); Isa. 56.7/Jer. 7.11 (11.17); Ps. 118.22 (12.10-11); Ps. 110.1 (12.36); Isa. 13.10/34.4/Joel 2.10 (13.24-25); Dan. 7.13 (13.26); Zech. 13.7 (14.27); Dan. 7.13/Ps. 110.1 (14.62); Ps. 22.1 (15.34). For an exposition of Mark's use of the Psalms (Watts) and Isaiah (Hooker), see the previous volumes in the series.

from Deut. 4.35.²⁴ He then abbreviates the four faculties to three by omitting 'soul' and substituting 'understanding' for 'mind', deducing that 'this is much more important than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices' (absent from Matthew and Luke²⁵), which Mark regards as a wise answer (12.34). The texts of Deut. 6.4 and Lev. 19.18 are reproduced exactly but there is some variation in the named faculties, as there is also in the LXX tradition:

Deut. 6.5 - B	Deut. 6.5 - A	Deut. 6.5 - MT	Mk 12.30	Mt. 22.37	Lk. 10.27
mind	heart	heart	heart	heart	heart
soul	soul	soul	soul	soul	soul
might	might	might	mind	mind	strength
			strength		mind

Göttingen favours B (supported as it is by papyrus 963), concluding that 'heart' in Codex A is due to assimilation to the Hebrew. It could equally be argued that 'mind' (διάνοια) in Codex B is due to assimilation to the synoptics. Since Mark uses a different word for 'might' (ισχύς for δύναμις) and a different preposition for 'with' (ἐκ instead of ἐν), it is likely that he is quoting the form known in his church (as with the commandments). More difficult to explain is why Mark has the scribe repeat Jesus' answer in a different form. If the story had ended in a rebuke, one might conclude that Mark is portraying the scribe as arrogantly reminding Jesus that the quoted text mentions only three faculties. His substitution of 'understanding' for 'mind' might then be taken as self-serving, a key quality in his particular profession as a scribe. But Mark has Jesus affirm the man ('When Jesus saw that he answered wisely') so this cannot be correct. A convincing explanation for this variation is yet to be found.²⁶

Combining the commandments to love God and neighbour has partial parallels in *T. Iss.* 5.2 ('love the Lord and your neighbour'; cf. 7.6) and *T. Dan* 5.3 ('love the Lord and one another with a true heart') but *citing* the actual commandments in this way appears to be original.²⁷ It might have been prompted by the fact that the Hebrew texts both use a relatively rare form for 'you shall love' (inverted perfect with imperative or jussive meaning, translated ἀγαπήσεις), or as Allison has argued, because the Ten Commandments had already been summarized as 'love for God' (first five) and 'love of neighbour' (second five). His evidence for this is primarily Philo, though he also notes that Josephus (*Ant.* 3.5.8) thought the two tablets carried down the mountain by Moses each contained five commandments

24. Similar phrases occur elsewhere, e.g. 2 Sam. 7.22; 1 Kgs 8.60; 2 Kgs 19.19; Isa. 37.20; 45.5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22.

25. Luke's version of this story occurs earlier (in 10.25-28) and it is the 'lawyer' who quotes Deut. 6.5 (only).

26. Gundry (*Mark*, p. 711) thinks the scribe is so overawed by Jesus' reply that all he can do is paraphrase his words. But this does not explain the variations. Powery (*Jesus Reads Scripture*, p. 71) notes how Mark uses repetition to 'remind, inform, and persuade readers' and that slight differences can bring additional nuances but he does not say what they are in this case.

27. There is also some doubt as to whether these are interpolations into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

(a not unreasonable deduction). Allison thus thinks that citing the *Shema* (love for God) and Lev. 19.18 (love for neighbour) would have been taken as 'constituting a synopsis of the decalogue'²⁸ and thus not particularly noteworthy.

However, the scribe's comment that 'this is much more important than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices' (12.33) does appear to be significant. For Loader, Mark is deliberately drawing a contrast between heart religion and cultic activity, along the same lines as his understanding of Mark's parenthesis in 7.19 (which he takes to be an annulment of the food laws).²⁹ France calls it a sweeping 'demonstration' of temple sacrifice but does not think that it implies 'doubt as to the validity of the sacrificial system; the point is its relative importance'.³⁰ If it could be shown that Mark has verses like Deut. 12.6, 11, 27 in mind (where the combination 'burnt offerings' and 'sacrifices' occur), this could be seen as putting Deuteronomy 6 and Deuteronomy 12 into a priority relationship (as with Genesis 2 and Deuteronomy 24). However, the combination occurs throughout Scripture and it is perhaps more likely that Mark has a text like Hos. 6.6 ('For I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings') in mind. This text occurs twice in Matthew (9.13; 12.7), though not in this incident.³¹

Allusions

Deut. 23.5 in Mk 2.23

Mark 2.1–3.6 consists of a series of controversy stories where Jesus' actions provoke hostility because he pronounces forgiveness on a paralytic (2.1–12), eats with tax-collectors and sinners (2.13–17), fails to observe times of fasting (2.18–22), allows his disciples to pluck corn on the Sabbath (2.23–28) and heals a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath (3.1–6). If the latter is understood as an emergency, Jewish tradition would agree that 'saving life overrules the Sabbath' (*b. Yoma* 85b) but that could hardly be argued for the corn incident, where there is no mention of hunger, let alone starvation.³² Deut. 23.25 provides the general background for the disciples' activity ('If you go into your neighbour's standing grain, you may pluck the ears with your hand, but you shall not put a sickle to your neighbour's standing grain') but there is no mention of the Sabbath in this text. The command to keep or observe the Sabbath occurs in Exod. 20.8–11 ('For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth') and Deut. 5.12–15 ('Remember

28. D. C. Allison, 'Mk 12.28–31 and the Decalogue', in C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner (eds), *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNTSup, 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), p. 273.

29. Loader, *Jesus Attitude Towards the Law*, p. 101.

30. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 481. Powery (*Jesus Reads Scripture*, p. 73 n. 210) says: 'Neither Jesus' final statement, "there are no greater laws than these," nor the scribe's final statement, "it is much more than sacrifices," suggests annulling these practices!'

31. Matthew lacks any response by the man and ends the story with this affirmation: 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets' (22.40).

32. It is not literally true even for the man with the withered hand, since his life is unlikely to be in danger had Jesus waited until the Sabbath was over.

that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God brought you out from there'). The more humanitarian basis for the Sabbath in Deuteronomy is closer to the concerns of this incident and might speak in favour of the Deuteronomic version. On the other hand, Jesus' reply that 'the Sabbath was made (ἐγένετο) for humankind and not humankind for the Sabbath' alludes to the creation story and could thus support the Exodus version. No decision can be made as to whether either should be given priority.

Of more significance is whether Jesus is being portrayed as breaking the Sabbath. The key saying is found in Mk 2.28 ('the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath'), but this can be interpreted in at least three ways: (1) Jesus has the authority to override the Sabbath; (2) Jesus has the authority to discern what constitutes a breaking of the Sabbath, and his ruling is that the disciples' action does not; (3) Jesus has the authority to determine what circumstances constitute a (temporary) suspension of the Sabbath, as did David in his day. A fourth alternative is that Mark intends 'son of man' to be a synonym for 'humanity' and thus Jesus' verdict is that because the Sabbath was made for humanity, humanity is lord of the Sabbath. Some would deny this possibility, claiming that Jesus could not possibly have put 'humanity' above the law but some sort of priority is implied by the maxim of v. 27. Once again, the answer is likely to be conditioned by one's overall view of Mark and the law (and in this case, Jesus and the law).

Deut. 18.15 in Mk 9.4, 7

In the transfiguration story, Elijah and Moses appear with Jesus and a heavenly voice declares, 'This is my Son, the Beloved; listen to him!'. The mention of Moses, the prophet and the command to listen to him (ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ) is suggestive of Deut. 18.15, where God promises to raise up a prophet like Moses: 'The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people; you shall heed (αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε) such a prophet.' France calls it an 'echo' of Deut. 18.15 and along with other indications of a Moses typology in Mark, he says that it implies that 'Jesus fulfils the eschatological role of the "prophet like Moses" in Dt. 18'.³³ However, he also notes that the ensuing discussion (Mk 9.11-13) concerns Elijah rather than Moses and so while the motif is present, it is 'more a part of Mark's inherited pattern of thought than a theme which he is particularly concerned to press on his readers, however gladly he takes the opportunities which this incident affords to make the connection'.³⁴ Marcus assigns it a more prominent role, calling it a 'virtual citation' of Deut. 18.15, which is 'only the most visible manifestation of a complex tissue of allusions in the transfiguration narrative of the Pentateuchal accounts of Moses'.³⁵ From this prompt, he surveys the post-biblical traditions of Moses' enthronement,

33. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 353.

34. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 353.

35. Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, p. 82. Marcus denies that the manner in which they are introduced ('Elijah with Moses') counts against this. Rather, the mention of Elijah 'ensures that the typology will be interpreted *eschatologically*' (p. 83).

translation and divinization as important background for understanding Mark’s transfiguration narrative.

Deut. 4.32; 13.1-2 [6]; 30.4 in Mark 13

During the course of Mark’s so-called apocalyptic discourse, there are several ideas that have significant parallels with texts from Deuteronomy:

Deuteronomy	Mark
For ask now about former ages, long before your own, ever since the day that God created (ἦς ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός) human beings on the earth; ask from one end of heaven to the other: has anything so great as this ever happened or has its like ever been heard of? (4.32)	For in those days there will be suffering, such as has not been from the beginning of the creation that God created (ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός) until now, no, and never will be (13.19).
If prophets or those who divine by dreams appear among you and promise you omens (σημείον) or portents (τέρας), and the omens or the portents declared by them take place, and they say, ‘Let us follow other gods’ (whom you have not known) ‘and let us serve them’ ... (13.1-2)	False messiahs and false prophets will appear and produce signs (σημεία) and omens (τέρατα), to lead astray, if possible, the elect (13.22).
Even if you are exiled to the ends of the world (ἀπ’ ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), from there the LORD your God will gather you (συνάξει), and from there he will bring you back (30.4).	Then he will send out the angels, and gather (ἐπισυνάξει) his elect from the four winds, from the ends (ἀπ’ ἄκρου) of the earth to the ends of heaven (ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ) (13.27).

In each case, the thought or idea is also found in other passages. For example, Dan. 12.1 predicts ‘a time of anguish, such as has never occurred since nations first came into existence’, and Joel 2.2 speaks of the Day of the Lord as a powerful army, ‘their like has never been from of old, nor will be again after them in ages to come’. The future orientation of these passages is conceptually closer to Mark, and Joel also includes the clause ‘nor will be again’. However, the specific link with God’s creating activity (ἦν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός) is closer to the wording of Deut. 4.32 and may have influenced Mark (or his source).³⁶

Likewise, the phrase ‘signs and wonders’ occurs some twenty times in the Old Testament and according to France, had become a stock phrase for ‘imposters and deceivers’.³⁷ The majority of scriptural occurrences refer to the events surrounding the Exodus (beginning at Exod. 7.3) but Deuteronomy 13 is the first passage to associate ‘signs and wonders’ with a future false prophet. Indeed, the passage goes on to warn the people that this might arise from ‘your brother, your father’s

36. Exod. 9.18 is another possibility: ‘Tomorrow at this time I will cause the heaviest hail to fall that has ever fallen in Egypt from the day it was founded until now’ (ἦς ἡμέρας ἔκτισται ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης).

37. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 529, citing Josephus *Ant.* 20.167-68.

son or your mother's son, or your own son or daughter' (Deut. 13.6), an interesting parallel to Mk 13.12 ('Brother will betray brother to death, and a father his child, and children will rise against parents and have them put to death').

The gathering of Israel from exile and dispersion occurs in a number of passages (Ps. 107.3; 147.2; Isa. 43.5-6; 49.2) but it is Deut. 30.4 and Zech. 2.6³⁸ that speak of a future gathering (συνάξω) from the four winds (Zechariah) or the ends of the earth/heaven (Deuteronomy). It would appear that Mk 13.27 combines both texts, while further specifying that the angels will carry out the gathering, and that it is God's elect who will be gathered. In sum, it would appear that Deuteronomy has played some part in the construction of the so-called 'little apocalypse', whether by Mark or his source.

Deut. 15.11 in Mk 14.7

It is possible that the statement that 'you always have the poor with you' is simply a reflection on the realities of life but it could be that Deut. 15.11 is particularly in mind. Deuteronomy 15 is concerned with the needs of the poor and verse 11 says: 'Since there will never cease to be some in need on the earth, I therefore command you, "Open your hand to the poor and needy neighbour in your land".'

Conclusion

On the whole, Mark has a positive view of Deuteronomy. This is shown in his portrayal of Jesus as affirming Deut. 6.4-5 as the 'first' commandment (Mk 12.29), reciting the second table of the Ten Commandments to the man enquiring after eternal life (Mk 10.19), and describing the command to honour parents as the 'word of God' in contrast to 'your traditions' (Mk 7.13). For Mark, Deuteronomy has proved a fruitful resource for the apocalyptic discourse (whether by Mark or his source) and the promise of a 'prophet like Moses' appears to play some role in the transfiguration story. Lastly, the statement about always having the poor (Mk 14.7) may well draw on the teaching of Deuteronomy 15.

This emphasis corresponds to the frequent mention of Moses by name in Mark (×8). It is interesting that a variety of verbs are used in conjunction with these references. The leper is to do what Moses *commanded* (Mk 1.44); the Pharisees and scribes should do what Moses *said* (Mk 7.10); the concession to divorce is also what Moses *commanded* (Mk 10.3); the levirate law is what Moses *wrote* (Mk 12.19); and the Sadducees are directed to *read* something in the book of Moses (Mk 12.26). It is difficult to see any rationale behind these different uses but taken together, they do indicate the fundamental importance of Moses for Mark and his church.³⁹

38. The MT speaks of a past scattering rather than a future gathering ('I have spread you abroad like the four winds of heaven'). Perhaps under the influence of Deut. 30.4, the LXX has mistranslated this as 'I will gather' (so France).

39. See further C. Breytenbach, 'Die Vorschriften des Mose im Markusevangelium. Erwägungen zur Komposition von Mk 7,9-13; 10,2-9 und 12,18-27', *ZNW* 97 (2006), pp. 23-43.

On the other hand, the divorce pericope (Mk 10.2-12) contrasts the concession of Deuteronomy 24 with the will of God expressed in the creation accounts (Gen. 1.27/2.24). It is also possible that the 'corn' controversy (Mk 2.23-28) is intended to relativize the Sabbath laws and the scribe's reply that Deut. 6.4-5 is 'much more important than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices' (Mk 12.33) could be intended to relativize the sacrificial laws.⁴⁰ The latter is interesting in that even if this is the implication, then it involves giving priority to one part of Deuteronomy over another and not to the creation accounts, as with the divorce pericope. This suggests that we should not generalize Powery's comment that 'Jesus levels the Mosaic law to a post-creation period for "hardened" humanity'⁴¹ beyond the divorce pericope. After all, the first commandment comes from Deuteronomy and the second from Leviticus, so there is little to sustain an argument that Genesis always takes priority over Deuteronomy.

A third factor to take into consideration is the way that some texts have been changed or transformed by their new setting. For example, the traditional 'gathering of Israel' motif has undergone an 'ironic reversal'⁴² by its setting and the mention of God's 'elect'. The citation of the Ten Commandments has gained a command not to defraud (absent from Matthew, Luke and Paul), while the command to love God with heart, soul and might has gained an additional faculty. Thus although it can be claimed that these texts are cited positively by Mark, they do not appear to constitute what Greene calls 'reproductive imitation', where the original is 'beyond alteration and beyond criticism, a sacred original whose greatness can never be adequately reproduced'.⁴³ Deuteronomy is an authoritative source but that does not rule out debate concerning which texts take priority when an ambiguity or contradiction is discerned. On the whole, I find Broadhead's summary of the 'son of man' material a suitable summary of the Deuteronomy material:

The Gospel of Mark invokes a variety of traditions and texts in its portrayal of Jesus. These previously existing texts have been appropriated under a guiding hermeneutic whose effect is not correction, but reciprocity ... the reconfiguration of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark belongs ultimately to the intertextual dialogue through which early Christian tradition was shaped, refined, preserved, and transmitted.⁴⁴

40. To my mind, this is a possible interpretation but no more than that. Those who are convinced that Mark is nullifying the ritual aspects of the law for the sake of his Gentile readers are naturally inclined to see it this way. But others would argue that texts like Jesus commanding the leper to offer the prescribed sacrifices (Mk 1.44) and upholding the 'word of God' against human tradition (Mk 7.13) rules out such an interpretation. For the effect of scholarly presuppositions on an understanding of Mark's use of Scripture, see S. Moyise, 'The Wilderness Quotation in Mark 1.2-3', in R. S. Sugirtharajah (ed.), *Wilderness. Essays in Honour of Frances Young* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2005), pp. 78-87.

41. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture*, p. 52.

42. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 536.

43. T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 38.

44. E. K. Broadhead, 'Reconfiguring Jesus: The Son of Man in Markan Perspective', in T. R. Hatina (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels. I. The Gospel of Mark* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2006), p. 30.

Lastly, in terms of the text-form used by Mark, very little can be said with any confidence. Of the five explicit quotations, Mark agrees with the LXX in the command to honour parents (Deut. 5.16 – but this could come from Exodus or tradition) and the opening of the *Shema* (Deut. 6.4), but differs in the form of the commandments (Deut. 5.12-16) and the faculties by which one must love God (Deut. 6.5). Neither of these differences leads to a text that is closer to the Masoretic Hebrew, however. The other two examples (divorce concession and levirate law) have only a few words in common, making it impossible to say anything definite about their textual form. Allusions, by definition, have less verbal similarity and so add little to the evidence. It would appear that Mark drew some of his quotations from church tradition but whether he had contact with an actual manuscript of Deuteronomy must be left open.

Chapter 3

DEUTERONOMY IN MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

Maarten J. J. Menken

Introduction

Matthew's Gospel contains some fifteen quotations from the book of Deuteronomy.¹ The exact number depends on how one counts some dubious cases, but the following list can be considered as representing a broad consensus:

Mt. 4.4	= Deut. 8.3
Mt. 4.7	= Deut. 6.16
Mt. 4.10	= Deut. 6.13; 10.20
Mt. 5.21	= Deut. 5.17 (LXX 5.18) or Exod. 20.13 (LXX 20.15)
Mt. 5.27	= Deut. 5.18 (LXX 5.17) or Exod. 20.14 (LXX 20.13)
Mt. 5.31	= Deut. 24.1, 3
Mt. 5.33	= free rendering of <i>inter alia</i> Deut. 5.11, 20; 23.22
Mt. 5.38	= Deut. 19.21 or Exod. 21.24 or Lev. 24.20
Mt. 5.43c ²	= free rendering of <i>inter alia</i> Deut. 7.2; 20.16; 23.4, 7
Mt. 15.4b ³	= Deut. 5.16 or Exod. 20.12
Mt. 18.16	= Deut. 19.15
Mt. 19.7	= Deut. 24.1, 3
Mt. 19.18-19a	= Deut. 5.17-20, 16 or Exod. 20.13-16, 12
Mt. 22.24	= Deut. 25.5
Mt. 22.37	= Deut. 6.5

The list immediately shows some aspects of the way Deuteronomy is used in Matthew. If we look at the Matthew column at the left, we see a concentration of quotations from Deuteronomy in the story of Jesus being tempted by the devil (4.1-11): three times, Jesus refuses the suggestions of the devil by quoting words from Deuteronomy. Another concentration occurs in the so-called 'antitheses' in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (5.21-48), where Jesus offers his own radical interpretation of several Old Testament laws. The other Matthean quotations from Deuteronomy are spread over chapters 15-22; on a closer look, it appears that with one exception, they occur in pronouncement stories, mostly controversies, in the argument of either Jesus or his discussion partners. The exception is Mt. 18.16,

1. Translations of biblical passages have been taken from the NRSV, unless otherwise indicated. I have sometimes removed slight inconsistencies of the NRSV, to facilitate comparison between passages.
2. 'And you shall hate your enemy.'
3. 'Honour your father and your mother.'

where a law from Deuteronomy is used to regulate relations within the Christian community.

If we look at the Deuteronomy column at the right, we see that four quotations (in Mt. 5.21, 27; 15.4; 19.18-19) come from the Decalogue (Deut. 5.6-21). Since the book of Exodus also contains a version of the Decalogue (Exod. 20.2-17), which differs at some points from the Deuteronomy version but not in the parts cited in Matthew, Matthew's quotations from the Decalogue could equally well come from Exodus. The quotation in 5.33 may also come from the Decalogue (Deut. 5.11, 20 or Exod. 20.7, 16), but other sources are possible as well (Lev. 19.12; Num. 30.3; Deut. 23.22). The Decalogue was no doubt a very familiar Old Testament passage,⁴ circulating in many different forms⁵ and known by heart by early Jews and early Christians. Other well-known passages from Deuteronomy in Matthew are the commandment to love the Lord from Deut. 6.5 in Mt. 22.37,⁶ and the retaliation law of Deut. 19.21 in Mt. 5.38.⁷ In the latter case, however, other provenances are equally possible. The divorce regulation of Deut. 24.1, 3 occurs twice in Matthew (5.31; 19.7).

Deuteronomy has been one of the main quarries from which Matthew drew Old Testament quotations, along with the Psalms and Isaiah. Among the five books of the Torah, Deuteronomy scores highest as a source of quotations in Matthew. Even if one takes into account that quotations from the Decalogue may come from either Exodus or Deuteronomy, Deuteronomy is still the winner, with Exodus in the second place. In addition, there are more than forty allusions to Deuteronomy in Matthew's Gospel.⁸

Matthew's quotations from Deuteronomy can also be categorized according to the source through which they reached Matthew. Presupposing the Two-Document Hypothesis, according to which Matthew made use of Mark and Q, we can say that the quotations in Mt. 15.4; 19.7, 18-19; 22.24, 37 were derived from Mark (see Mk 7.10; 10.3, 19; 12.19, 30), and that the quotations in Mt. 4.4, 7, 10 came from Q (cf. Lk. 4.4, 12, 8). The remaining Matthean quotations from Deuteronomy (in 5.21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43; 18.16) occur in Matthew's *Sondergut*, that is, the materials without a parallel in the other Synoptic Gospels. In the *Sondergut* instances, Matthew may either have borrowed a quotation in the context of traditional materials, or he may have inserted it himself; *a priori* decisions are impossible here, one has to decide case by case.

It is evident that within the Torah, the book of Deuteronomy has its own individual traits, with its typical exhortative style and its character of Moses' farewell

4. I mention Philo, *De decalogo*; Ps-Phoc. 3-8; LAB 11.6-13; 44.6-7; Rom. 13.9.

5. See R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (NovTSup, 18; Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 1975 [1967]), pp. 17-19; D. S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis* (SBLSCS, 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 74-5.

6. See, e.g., *Let. Aris.* 160; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212; *m. Ber.* 1-3; *m. Tamid* 5.1; *Did.* 1.2; 2 *Clem.* 3.4.

7. See, e.g., *Jub.* 4.31-32; LAB 44.10.

8. My count of allusions is based on the lists in NA²⁷ and UBS⁴, and on W. Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo: Die alttestamentlichen Parallelen des Neuen Testaments im Wortlaut der Urtexte und der Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903).

speech. In early Jewish and early Christian literature, the book is sometimes mentioned by its own name as an individual entity within the Torah.⁹ Did Matthew also perceive Deuteronomy as an individual book within the Torah?

If we take a look at the formulae with which Matthew introduces quotations from Deuteronomy, we can observe that the book of Deuteronomy is never presented by the evangelist as a separate entity within the Scriptures. All three quotations from Deuteronomy in Matthew's temptation story (4.1-11) are introduced by γέγραπται, 'it is written' (4.4, 7, 10). Matthew copied here what he found in Q: in Lk. 4.4, 8, the quotations are also introduced by γέγραπται, and εἶρηται, 'it is said' in Lk. 4.12, the parallel of Mt. 4.7, seems to be due to Luke.¹⁰ In any case, Matthew saw no reason to use a more specific introductory formula. In the antitheses in the Sermon on the Mount (5.21-48), the Matthean Jesus introduces some Old Testament laws with the word ἐρρέθη, 'it was said'. Matthew probably found the introductory formula in the case of the *Sondergut* antitheses 5.21-26, 27-30, 33-37, and imitated it in the antitheses 5.31-32, 38-42, 43-48.¹¹ The passive 'it was said' is best interpreted as a *passivum divinum*, a circumlocution for God's speaking, to avoid mentioning God directly.¹² So Matthew makes use here of a formula of introduction which emphasizes that God is speaking in the words of the Torah, but which does not specifically introduce quotations as coming from Deuteronomy. With the quotations from Deuteronomy that reached Matthew through Mark, Matthew mostly copies the essentials of the introductory formula or characterization from Mark ('Moses commanded', Mt. 19.7, from Mk 10.3; 'the commandments', Mt. 19.17-18, from Mk 10.19; 'commandment', Mt. 22.36, from Mk 12.28). In 15.4, Matthew has changed Mark's 'Moses said' (7.10) into 'God said', to improve the connection with what precedes ('the commandment of God' in contrast to 'your tradition', Mt. 15.3 diff. Mk 7.9). In 22.24, Matthew has replaced Mark's 'Moses wrote for us' (12.19) by 'Moses said'; comparable changes are found in Matthew's avoidance of the writing of Moses in 19.8 (diff. Mk 10.5), and of the book of Moses in Mt. 22.31 (diff. Mk 12.26).

In sum: Matthew mostly copies the introductions to quotations from Deuteronomy as found in his sources, these introductions never contain specific references to Deuteronomy, and if Matthew substantially modifies an introduction, it is to

9. For the Greek name Δευτερονόμιον, 'second law' (the word occurs already in Deut. 17.18; Josh. 9.2c LXX), see, e.g., Philo, *Leg.* 3.174; *Deus* 50; *Barn.* 10.2; Melito of Sardis according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.14; Origen according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.1. For the Hebrew name חֻשְׁתָּה תוֹרָה, 'repeated law', see, e.g., *b. Meg.* 31b; *Gen. Rab.* 3.5.

10. Luke probably changed the Q wording for the sake of variation; Matthew had no reason to change an original 'it is said' into 'it is written'. See S. Carruth and J. M. Robinson, *Q 4:1-13, 16: The Temptations of Jesus – Nazara* (ed. C. Heil; Documenta Q; Leuven: Peeters, 1996), pp. 243-48.

11. See further below, in the section on Mt. 5.21-48.

12. See M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek, Illustrated by Examples*, ed. J. Smith (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1963; orig. in Latin, 1955), par. 236; for the application in Matthew: U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus 1: Mt 1-7* (EKKNT, 1/1; Zürich: Benziger, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 3rd edn, 1992 [1985]), p. 249; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew 1: Introduction and Commentary on Matthew I-VII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), pp. 510-11.

emphasize the spoken word of Moses over against his written text. This tallies with the circumstance that Matthew never refers to any individual book of the Torah, but only to *ὁ νόμος*, 'the law', the five books of the Torah taken together and distinguished from 'the prophets', and considered as something valid for his audience.¹³

In the next section, I shall discuss the quotations from Deuteronomy in Matthew's Gospel, following the sequence in which the quotations occur in Matthew. The first question to be asked in each case is: in what textual form does Matthew present the quotation? Did he make use of a biblical text, and if so, which one (LXX, Hebrew text, etc.), or did he copy the quotation from his sources (Mark, Q, other materials)?¹⁴ We have to determine as precisely as possible the textual form in which Matthew found a quotation, because we have to know *what* he interpreted before we can investigate *how* he interpreted it. So the second, logically ensuing question is: what does the quotation mean in its Matthean context? Here, we have to keep in mind that Matthew read the Old Testament as a first-century Christian Jew. His Old Testament is an Old Testament that was already interpreted before him, in early Jewish and early Christian tradition. I shall finally summarize my results and make some general remarks on Matthew's use of Deuteronomy.

Quotations from Deuteronomy in Matthew: Textual Form and Meaning

Quotations from Deuteronomy in the Temptation Story (Mt. 4.1-11)

Matthew's narrative on Jesus being tempted by the devil in the desert (4.1-11) has a parallel in Luke (4.1-13) but not in Mark (who only has a very succinct temptation story in 1.12-13), so it must come from Q. The three quotations from Deuteronomy found in the temptation narrative are the only quotations from Deuteronomy in Q (in so far as we can reconstruct this document¹⁵). On account of the very limited use of Deuteronomy in Q, it has not been deemed necessary to include in the present collection of essays a separate chapter on Deuteronomy in Q, and I shall here give attention to the textual form and the meaning of the Deuteronomy quotations in Q. For the purposes of this study, a full reconstruction of the Q version of the entire temptation story is not required; it is sufficient to establish the original sequence of the temptations in Q and the textual form of the Deuteronomy quotations in Q.

In both Matthew and Luke, the temptation story starts with the devil's request to Jesus to make bread out of stones. In Matthew's sequence, the second temptation consists in the request to Jesus to throw himself from the temple roof, and the third one is the devil's invitation to Jesus to worship him in order to receive dominion of the entire world. Matthew's second temptation is Luke's third one,

13. See Mt. 5.17, 18; 7.12; 11.13; 12.5; 22.36, 40; 23.23.

14. For detailed discussion of the textual form of Matthew's quotations from Deuteronomy, see M. J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL, 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 2004).

15. For a recent reconstruction, see J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann, J. S. Kloppenborg and M. C. Moreland (eds), *The Critical Edition of Q* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

and Matthew's third temptation is Luke's second one. Matthew has probably retained the original sequence of Q, because Luke's interest in Jerusalem and the temple¹⁶ makes it probable that he transposed the second and third temptation so as to have the temple scene as a climax.¹⁷

As far as the textual form of the quotations from Deuteronomy is concerned, there is complete agreement between Matthew and Luke. So we may assume that in Q, the quotations read as follows: 'One does not live by bread alone' (Q 4.4); 'Do not put the Lord your God to the test' (Q 4.12); 'Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him' (Q 4.8).¹⁸ The only difference between Matthew and Luke is that in Matthew, the first quotation is longer: 'One does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God' (Mt. 4.4). The question is: did Luke omit the second half of the quotation from Q or did Matthew add it to Q? To my mind, Matthean addition is the more probable option.¹⁹ Luke had no reason to omit the second half: the third evangelist has significant interest in the reception of the word of God or Jesus,²⁰ and he knows that human existence is ultimately not based on material things (see Lk. 9.25; 12.13-34; 18.24-25). On the other hand, there were good reasons for Matthew to expand the quotation: he emphasizes that Jesus obeys the word or the will of God (3.15; 5.17; 6.10; 26.39, 42), and he considers Jesus as a teacher of divine wisdom (see 11.19, 25-30; 23.34-36). Moreover, if we assume that it was Matthew who expanded the quotation, the original Q narrative appears to possess a distinct structure. The three temptation scenes move from the ground to the temple roof to a mountain top, and Jesus' answers to the devil consist in quotations from Deuteronomy in reverse order (Deut. 8.3; 6.16, 13²¹). The first and second quotations differ from the third one in that the devil starts with the words 'if you are the Son of God', and Jesus answers with a categoric biblical prohibition (in literal translation: 'Man shall not live by bread alone'; 'You shall not put the Lord your God to the test'). The addition of the positive counterpart to the first prohibition breaks this pattern.

In textual form, the Deuteronomy quotations in Q agree with the LXX (apart from a few details in the third one to be discussed below). In the case of the first one, the Greek translation is a correct and very obvious translation of the Hebrew, so here one cannot say with certainty that the LXX is the source of the quotation, but given the fact that the two others derive from the LXX, there is a very good chance that the first one does so as well. The second quotation can only come from the LXX: the Hebrew verb *נִסָּה*, 'to put to the test', is translated not by the usual simplex *πειράζειν* or *πειρᾶν* but by the compound *ἐκπειράζειν*, and the second person plural of the Hebrew text has been replaced by a second person singular.

16. See, e.g., Lk. 9.31, 51, 53; 13.33; 17.11; 19.11; 24.47, 52; Acts 1.8; 2.46.

17. See Carruth and Robinson, *Q 4:1-13*, 16, pp. 148-84.

18. I follow the convention of referring to Q by means of the chapter and verse numbers of Luke.

19. See Carruth and Robinson, *Q 4:1-13*, 16, pp. 137-47.

20. See, e.g., Lk. 1.38; 5.1; 6.47; 8.11-15, 21; 11.28; Acts 4.4; 6.7; 8.14; 11.1; 12.24; 13.26; 17.11.

21. The words in question also occur in Deut. 10.20, but the proximity of Deut. 6.13 to Deut. 6.16, the source of the preceding quotation, suggests that Deut. 6.13 is at the origin of the quotation in Q 4.8.

The third quotation also comes from the LXX: the Hebrew verb עָבַד, 'to serve', is rendered by the Greek verb λατρεύειν, which the LXX translators of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges have used almost always when the Hebrew verb refers to religious service.²²

The third quotation deviates from Deut. 6.13 LXX in two details.²³ Firstly, it reads προσκυνήσεις, 'you shall worship', instead of the LXX's φοβηθήσῃ, 'you shall fear' (which is an excellent translation of the Hebrew פָּחַד). The change very probably occurred under the influence of LXX passages in which we find the verbs προσκυνεῖν and λατρεύειν in immediate parallel sequence, as translations of the Hebrew verbs חָזַק (histafel) and עָבַד. The LXX version of Deuteronomy contains a series of these,²⁴ and we meet them elsewhere as well.²⁵ The most obvious candidate to have influenced the text of the quotation is Deut. 5.9 (or Exod. 20.5): the first commandment from the Decalogue (Deut. 5.8-10) is, in both content and wording, very similar to Deut. 6.13-15, and could therefore be used as an analogous text, from which words could be borrowed as an addition or a substitute.²⁶ The second difference between the quotation in Q 4.8 and Deut. 6.13 LXX is that in the quotation the word 'only' (μόνος) has been added: 'serve *only* him'. The addition serves to reinforce the monotheism of the quotation, and it may derive from the analogous passage 1 Sam. 7.3-4.²⁷ Addition of 'only' to a reference to Israel's God in similar contexts has sometimes occurred in the LXX.²⁸ The two changes in the LXX text probably go back to the stage of the original composition of the temptation narrative, because they constitute an integral part of the story: the devil promises Jesus to give him power over the entire earth 'if you will worship (προσκυνήσῃς) me', and Jesus answers him by citing scriptural words concerning the worship of God, and of God alone.

What is the meaning of the three quotations from Deuteronomy in Q's temptation story?²⁹ I start from the presuppositions that the temptation narrative constitutes an integral part of Q, and that the use of Scripture which we find in this

22. See H. Strathmann, 'λατρεύω, λατρεία', *TWNT* 4.58-66, esp. pp. 59-60.

23. Cod. A has in Deut. 6.13 (and also 10.20) LXX a text that is completely identical with the quotation in Q, very probably as a result of influence of the quotation. For an explanation of the differences between quotation and LXX which is in several respects similar to mine, see T. Hieke, 'Schriftgelehrsamkeit in der Logienquelle: Die alttestamentlichen Zitate in der Versuchungsgeschichte Q 4,1-13', in J. M. Asgeirsson, K. De Troyer and M. W. Meyer (eds), *From Quest to Q* (FS J. M. Robinson; BETL, 146; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 2000), pp. 43-71, esp. pp. 59-63.

24. 4.19; 5.9 (= Exod. 20.5); 8.19; 11.16; 17.3; 29.25; 30.17.

25. 4 Kgdms (2 Kings) 17.16, 35; 21.21; 2 Chron. 7.19; see also Dan. 3.12, 14, 18, 95(28) LXX and Theod., where the Greek verbs render the Aramaic verbs סָבַד and פָּחַד, and cf. Dan. 6.27 LXX.

26. See M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (CBET, 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), pp. 52-3 (with the lit. mentioned there).

27. So R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), p. 58.

28. See Judg. 10.16 B; 3 Kgdms 18.37 A; Ps. 76(77).15 א⁶; 135(136).7; Dan. 2.47.

29. See B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son (Matt 4:1-11 & par): An Analysis of Early Christian Midrash* (ConBNT, 2/1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966); C. M. Tuckett, 'The Temptation Narrative in Q', in F. Van Segbroeck, C. M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle and J. Verheyden (eds), *The Four Gospels 1992* (FS F. Neirynck; BETL, 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 1992), pp. 479-507;

narrative, is striking but not completely foreign to the rest of Q. Three times, the devil puts Jesus to the test, and in each case, the answer of Jesus consists of a quotation from Deuteronomy. All three quotations come from the same part of Deuteronomy, the admonitions of Moses to Israel in chapters 5–11, a part which also contains the Decalogue (5.6–21) and the ‘Hear Israel’ (6.4–9). The three quotations express vital tenets of Jewish faith: man does not live just by material things, one should not put God to the test, and God is the only one to be worshipped. So by putting the quotations in Jesus’ mouth, the Q author presents him as a devout Jew, one who complies with the requirements of the Torah. In this respect, the temptation narrative is in line with other parts of Q (11.42; 16.17).

It is useful to have a more detailed look at each of the three individual temptations. In the first one, the devil invites Jesus to make bread out of stones (4.3), that is, he invites him to take care, in a miraculous way, of his own material subsistence. Such an invitation is at odds with what Jesus teaches elsewhere in Q, that one should not care about material things but strive for God’s kingdom, and God will then take care of his own also in material respects (12.22–32; also 11.2–4, 9–13). Israel in the wilderness succumbed to this temptation, by complaining about their lack of food (Exod. 16.2–3, etc.); Q’s Jesus does not succumb.

In the second temptation, the devil tries, by citing Ps. 91.11–12, to move Jesus to perform a sign. Or, to put it more precisely: Jesus should move God to perform a sign by saving Jesus when he would throw himself down from the temple roof. By doing so, Jesus would go against his own saying in Q 11.29–32, that ‘this evil generation’ is asking for a sign, but that they will not receive any other sign than the one of Jonah: just as Jonah’s preaching was sufficient for the Ninevites to repent, so Jesus’ preaching should be sufficient for his own generation to repent. By responding to the devil’s suggestion, Jesus would do the same as Israel did in the wilderness, when they tested the Lord by asking Moses for a sign by giving them water (Exod. 17.1–7; Num. 14.22; Ps. 95.8–9). But Jesus does not comply with the request of the devil.

Jesus’ refusal, in the third temptation, to worship the devil in exchange for dominion of all the kingdoms of the world also fits in with his teaching elsewhere in Q. One cannot at the same time serve God and the devil (Q 11.14–23), or God and wealth (16.13), one should opt for the kingdom of God and not for the riches of this world (12.29–30). Again, Jesus does not succumb to a temptation to which Israel succumbed in the wilderness: to worship other gods (identified with demons in Deut. 32.17) than the Lord alone (see Exodus 32; Numbers 25).

In Q, it is not quite clear whether Jesus acts as an exemplary Jew or as the Jewish Messiah. Twice, the devil begins his tempting words with εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, which can be translated either as ‘if you are a son of God’ or as ‘if you are the Son of God’. In the former case, Jesus acts as an exemplary Jew (cf. Wis. 2.18); in the latter, as the Jewish Messiah. If in Q the temptation narrative was preceded by a story on Jesus’ baptism, and if in that story the voice from heaven called

idem, ‘Scripture and Q’, in *idem* (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETL, 131; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 1997), pp. 3–26; Hieke, ‘Schriftgelehrsamkeit in der Logienquelle’.

Jesus 'my Son', a case could be made out for the latter possibility, but the evidence for this assumption is slight.³⁰ In fact, none of the three temptations has an explicitly Messianic character, so for Q the paradigmatic interpretation seems to be the safest one.

Matthew has incorporated Q's temptation narrative in his Gospel. We have already observed that he copied the three quotations from Deuteronomy from Q. We have also established that he has expanded the quotation from Deut. 8.3 by adding the words 'but by every word that comes from the mouth of God', and that he had good reasons to do so. Matthew's addition must come from the LXX. The Hebrew text reads, in a literal translation, 'but by everything that comes from the mouth of the Lord'. The LXX speaks of 'every word' and of 'the mouth of God', and Matthew's text agrees completely with the LXX.³¹

Matthew's interpretation of the Deuteronomy quotations presupposes the Q interpretation, but Matthew adds a few aspects by making the temptation narrative part of his Gospel.³² The temptation narrative comes now after a baptism narrative in which God has called Jesus 'my Son' (Mt. 3.17), and after a birth narrative in which Jesus has been begotten by the Holy Spirit (1.18-25) and according to which Hosea's prophecy, 'Out of Egypt I have called my son' (Hos. 11.1), has been fulfilled in Jesus (2.15). Accordingly, Matthew's Jesus is tempted in his quality of 'the Son of God'³³ and as one who in his divine sonship represents Israel as God's son. The temptations now become challenges to perform Messianic signs, challenges which Jesus rejects (see Mt. 12.38-42; 16.1-4), and the Deuteronomy quotations become statements which are especially valid for the Messiah. Matthew's expansion of the first quotation serves the same view: as the Messiah, Jesus depends on God's word (cf. 3.15; 26.54).

In Matthew, there are also clear connections between the temptation narrative and the end of the Gospel. When Jesus has been crucified, both passers-by and Council members mock him by challenging him to substantiate his divine sonship by coming down from the cross (27.39-43).³⁴ The former group even does so by saying, 'Save yourself, if you are the Son of God' (27.40), thereby imitating the words of the devil in 4.3, 6. Jesus is the Son of God by obeying his Father, from his exemplary fulfilment of the commandments from Deuteronomy until his death on the cross. The devil's wish that Jesus worship him in exchange for dominion over all kingdoms of the world (4.9) finds its counterpart in the closing scene of the Gospel (28.16-20): on the mountain in Galilee, the disciples worship the risen Jesus (the same word προσκυνεῖν is used in 4.9-10 and 28.17), to whom God, and not the devil, has given 'all authority in heaven and on earth'. The Son of God has obeyed his Father unto death, and therefore he is now entitled to divine worship

30. It is only supported by a few minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in Mt. 3.13-17 // Lk. 3.21-22.

31. Including a few words where more than one Greek translation was possible.

32. See M. Hasitschka, 'Die Verwendung der Schrift in Mt 4,1-11', in Tuckett (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, pp. 487-90.

33. This title is a prominent one in Matthew, see 8.29; 14.33; 16.16; 26.63; 27.40, 43, 54.

34. Note that the references to 'the Son of God' in Mt. 27.40, 43 belong to Matthew's redaction.

and universal dominion. To Matthew, then, the three quotations from Deuteronomy in the temptation narrative are essential in showing what type of 'Son of God' Jesus has to be: one who is obedient to his heavenly Father.

Quotations from Deuteronomy in the Antitheses in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5.21-48)

In the antitheses at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (5.21-48), Jesus confronts six legal provisions derived from the Torah with his own radical interpretation of them. He introduces the six regulations with the formula, 'You have heard that it was said', or a variation on it (Mt. 5.21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43), and begins his own interpretation with 'But I say to you' (5.22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44). The legal provisions have been derived from various parts of the Torah, among them the book of Deuteronomy. In what follows, I limit myself to what comes from Deuteronomy.

In 5.21, 27, Jesus cites two commandments from the Decalogue: 'You shall not murder', and 'You shall not commit adultery'. The Old Testament source of the former is Deut. 5.17 (LXX 5.18) or Exod. 20.13 (LXX 20.15), and of the latter Deut. 5.18 (LXX 5.17) or Exod. 20.14 (LXX 20.13). In both instances, Matthew's Greek wording agrees with the LXX, but as the translation is an extremely obvious one, this is not very telling. In the third antithesis, the legal provision is: 'Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of dismissal' (5.31); this is a free rendering of Deut. 24.1, 3. The next commandment, in 5.33, reads: 'You shall not swear falsely, but carry out the vows you have made to the Lord.' This is again a free rendering, this time of the substance of various legal provisions, among them Deut. 5.11, 20; 23.22. The law of retaliation is quoted in 5.38: 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'; it is found in Deut. 19.21, and at two other places in the Torah (Exod. 21.24; Lev. 24.20). Although the Hebrew is not exactly the same in all three cases, the LXX offers a uniform and obvious translation, which is completely suitable in Exod. 21.24 only. Apart from one insignificant detail (the addition of 'and'), Matthew's text agrees with the LXX. In the final commandment (5.43), the second clause, 'And you shall hate your enemy', may have been inspired by, among other texts, Deut. 7.2; 20.16; 23.4, 7, but there are no verbal links.

All six quotations belong to Matthew's *Sondergut*, so we have to check whether Matthew found them in existing materials or inserted them himself. The antitheses in 5.21-26, 27-30, 33-37 are probably pre-Matthean, and the evangelist then imitated their model in the antitheses in 5.31-32, 38-42, 43-48. In the former three antitheses, both the Old Testament laws and Jesus' interpretation of them belong to Matthew's own materials, to which then in the first and second antitheses other materials have been appended (5.25-26, 29-30, cf. Lk. 12.57-59; Mk 9.43-48). In the latter three antitheses, Jesus' interpretations derive from Q (cf. Lk. 16.18; 6.29-30, 27-28, 32-36), but the Old Testament laws belong to Matthew's own materials. The entire series of antitheses starts with those in which both laws and interpretation belong to Matthew's *Sondergut*, with the exception of the antithesis on divorce in 5.31-32, but this exception is easily explicable: this passage

was added to the antithesis on adultery on account of the related topic. So it seems that Matthew derived a series of three antitheses from existing materials, to which he added three more, which he composed himself on the basis of Q materials. The Deuteronomy quotations in the former three antitheses belonged already to pre-Matthean materials, those in the latter three were inserted by the evangelist.

We cannot say, however, much on the type of Deuteronomy text used by Matthew himself or in his source. In so far as real quotations are given and not free paraphrases, Matthew's text agrees with the LXX, but other translations are hardly possible, and, as we saw in the introductory section, all real quotations concern well-known passages. The only serious indication for use of the LXX could be the word ἀποστάσιον, 'certificate of dismissal', in 5.31; this word, however, can quite well be a halachic term in use among Greek-speaking Jews. Besides, Matthew knew the word from Mark (10.4 // Mt. 19.7). He may even have derived the complete wording of the paraphrase in 5.31 from Mk 10.4, 11.

The question of what the quotations from Deuteronomy mean in Mt. 5.21-48,³⁵ is actually an aspect of the more encompassing question what the Torah means in Matthew. In the three antitheses which Matthew borrowed, Jesus sharpens Old Testament prohibitions by also prohibiting things that could lead to their violation. God has said: 'You shall not murder'; Jesus equally forbids anger, abuse and conflict, which could lead to murder (5.21-26). God has said: 'You shall not commit adultery'; Jesus equally forbids looking at a woman with lust (the text betrays a male perspective), which could lead to adultery (5.27-30). God has said: 'You shall not swear falsely, but carry out the vows you have made to the Lord'; Jesus equally forbids any kind of swearing, which could lead to swearing falsely (5.33-37). In the three antitheses which Matthew created with the help of Q materials, Jesus sharpens Old Testament laws by forbidding what seems to be accepted in these laws as allowed. God has said: 'Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of dismissal'; Jesus forbids divorce, except in the case of πορνεία, 'adultery' (5.31-32). God has said: 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'; Jesus forbids retaliation altogether (5.38-42). God has said: 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy'; Jesus forbids limiting love to one's own people (5.43-47). So in all six antitheses, Jesus radicalizes Old Testament law, either by forbidding what might lead to its violation, or by forbidding things that were allowed only on account of the people's hardness of heart (cf. Mt. 19.8).

The series of antitheses is preceded by a passage in which Jesus clearly states that he has come not to abolish but to fulfil the law, and that in this aeon, not a single detail will pass from the law (5.17-19). There seems to be a certain tension

35. See, e.g., A. Sand, *Das Gesetz und die Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Evangeliums nach Matthäus* (Biblische Untersuchungen, 11; Regensburg: Pustet, 1974), esp. pp. 32-124, 178-205; K. Snodgrass, 'Matthew and the Law', in D. R. Bauer and M. A. Powell (eds), *Treasures New and Old: Recent Contributions to Matthean Studies* (SBLSymS, 1; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), pp. 99-127; M. Limbeck, *Das Gesetz im Alten und Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), pp. 129-45; P. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (WUNT, 2/177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 94-217.

within Matthew's conception of the significance of the Torah. On the one hand, the Matthean Jesus seems to advocate a legalistic stance: the law has to be kept completely, in all its details (see also 23.2-3, 23; 24.20). On the other hand, he seems to adopt a liberal point of view: he summarizes the entire law in the double commandment to love God and one's neighbour (19.19; 22.34-40), and he puts mercy above cultic observance (9.13; 12.7). How should we solve this tension, and how should we understand the antitheses?

In the Torah, we find a multitude of commandments and prohibitions. It is not surprising, then, that Jews started to wonder what basic principles governed this multitude, and which laws took precedence over others in case of collision between laws. According to Jewish tradition, a Gentile asked Hillel the Elder (who lived around the beginning of our era) to teach him the entire Torah while he was standing on one foot, and Hillel said to him: 'What you do not like, do not do to your neighbour; that is the entire Torah and the rest is commentary; go and learn it' (*b. Shabb.* 31a). R. Akiba (d. 135) is said to have called the commandment to 'love your neighbour as yourself' of Lev. 19.18 'the greatest principle in the law' (*Sifra* Lev. 19.18). There is not much difference between Hillel's 'Golden Rule' and Lev. 19.18: both statements boil down to the same.³⁶

In Matthew's Gospel, we can observe the same tendency; it is now applied not only to the Torah, but to 'the law and the prophets'. To Matthew, 'the prophets' are at least as important as 'the law', because they expressed God's will, that was revealed in the Torah, in a fresh and authoritative way. Towards the end of the Sermon on the Mount, the Matthean Jesus says: 'In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets' (7.12). The 'Golden Rule' (in a positive wording) is considered to be the governing principle behind 'the law and the prophets', just as Hillel considered it to be 'the entire Torah'. As we shall see below, Matthew's Jesus emphasizes in 19.16-22 and 22.34-40 the priority of the commandments to love God and one's neighbour (Deut. 6.5; Lev. 19.18). In two controversies with the Pharisees, Matthew's Jesus legitimates his own behaviour with a quotation from Hos. 6.6: 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' (9.13 diff. Mk 2.17; 12.7 diff. Mk 2.26); he thereby affirms that moral laws precede cultic laws. Finally, Mt. 23.23 is significant: Jesus characterizes 'justice and mercy and faith' as 'the weightier matters of the law', which the scribes and the Pharisees neglect at the cost of 'tithing mint, dill, and cummin', but both these minutiae and the more important matters ought to be practised.

So to Matthew, the entire Torah with all its details is of importance, but its governing principle is love or mercy. This point of view explains the antitheses with their quotations from Deuteronomy: the Old Testament laws remain valid, but Jesus interprets them in the light of the governing principle of love or mercy. Acting fully in accordance with this governing principle means that 'your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees' (5.20) and that one is 'perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect' (5.48, cf. 19.21).

36. In *Tg. Ps.-J.* Lev. 19.18, the two are combined: 'You shall love your neighbour, so that what you do not like for yourself, you shall not do to him.'

Deut. 5.16 in Mt. 15.4

The controversy on clean and unclean in Mt. 15.1-20 is basically a rewritten version of Mk 7.1-23. It contains in 15.4 another quotation from the Decalogue, from Deut. 5.16 or Exod. 20.12; Matthew borrowed it from Mk 7.10. If I translate extremely literally, Mark's quotation reads: 'Honour your father and your mother.' Matthew has: 'Honour the father and the mother'; Mark's double possessive σου, 'of you', is missing in Matthew. This omission removes Matthew's quotation from its Old Testament sources (both Hebrew text and LXX), but it is in line with Matthew's style: Matthew is consistent in omitting possessive genitives of the personal pronoun after 'father' and 'mother' wherever these two words occur in immediate conjunction.³⁷ So the omission in 15.4 is best explained as a simple editorial retouching of the evangelist for stylistic reasons. A secondary motive may have been Matthew's wish to enhance the parallelism between the Decalogue quotation and the immediately ensuing quotation, which has in both Mark and Matthew 'father or mother', without possessive genitives.

Matthew has in several respects streamlined Mark's fairly complex controversial story.³⁸ The sole topic of Jesus' conversations, first with Pharisees and scribes and then with the crowd and the disciples, is the contrast between keeping the commandment of God (as found in the Torah) and keeping the tradition of the elders (that is, the oral tradition of the Pharisees, exemplified in washing of hands before meals). The Pharisees and scribes ask Jesus why his disciples break the tradition of the elders by not washing their hands before eating (15.1-2), and Jesus retorts with a counterquestion: 'And why do you break the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition?' (15.3). He then gives an example of the way in which his opponents use human tradition against divine commandment: they allow people to dedicate whatever material profits their parents might have from them, as a gift to God,³⁹ and thereby his opponents break two commandments of the Torah: 'Honour your father and your mother' (Deut. 5.16; Exod. 20.12), and 'Whoever speaks evil of father or mother must surely die' (Exod. 21.17; Lev. 20.9). In this way, they hold on to their tradition at the cost of 'the word of God', revealing themselves to be people 'teaching human precepts as doctrines' (15.4-9; cf. Isa. 29.13). Jesus then tells the crowd that 'it is not what goes into the mouth that defiles a person, but it is what comes out of the mouth that defiles' (15.10-11). He elucidates to his disciples what this means: eating with unwashed hands does not defile, but defilement comes from 'evil intentions, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness, slander' (15.16-20). In 15.19, Matthew has reorganized the long list of vices of Mark 7.21-22 into a short list that parallels the second table of the Decalogue. In short: the Matthean Jesus upholds the Torah, especially the Decalogue, against the tradition of the elders, which may well be at odds with the Torah.

37. See 10.37 (diff. Lk. 14.26); 15.4a (diff. Mk 7.10a); 15.4b (= Mk 7.10b); 15.5 (= Mk 7.11); 19.5 (diff. Mk 10.7); 19.19 (diff. Mk 10.19); 19.29 (= Mk 10.29).

38. See, e.g., R. F. Collins, 'Matthew's ἐντολαί. Towards an Understanding of the Commandments in the First Gospel', in Van Segbroeck *et al.* (eds), *The Four Gospels 1992*, pp. 1325-48, esp. 1331-36.

39. Cf., e.g., *m. Ned.* 5.6.

Deut. 19.15 in Mt. 18.16

In Jesus' discourse on how to live within the Christian community (Matthew 18), there is a section on how to deal with sinners (18.15-18). If a sinner does not listen in a private conversation, Jesus' disciple is advised to take one or two others with him, 'that every matter may be settled on the statement of two or three witnesses' (18.16; I translate literally). These words are an unmarked quotation from Deut. 19.15, the rule that at least two witnesses are required to sustain a charge. The LXX reads here (in literal translation): 'Every matter will be settled on the statement of two witnesses and on the statement of three witnesses.' The Hebrew has (once again in literal translation): 'A matter will be settled on the statement of two witnesses or on the statement of three witnesses.' Some details of Matthew's quotation show that it derives from the LXX. The quotation agrees with the LXX against the Hebrew in having 'every matter', and not 'a matter'. Besides, quotation and LXX agree in two rather peculiar translations of the Hebrew. For the Hebrew expression עַל-פִּי (translated as 'on the statement of'), both have ἐπὶ στόματος.⁴⁰ For the Hebrew verb קָלַל (qal) in the sense of 'to be settled', both have passive forms of the Greek verb ἵσταναι.⁴¹ So it seems obvious that Matthew's quotation is based on the LXX. The slight differences between quotation and LXX are the result of omission of superfluous parts, and of adaptation to the Matthean context ('or' instead of 'and', on account of 'one or two' in the preceding clause).

Did Matthew himself insert this LXX quotation or did he find it in his source materials? Mt. 18.15, 21 come from Q (the verses have parallels in Lk. 17.3, 4); the question is where the intervening verses 18.16-20 come from. As they display both Matthean and un-Matthean traits, they probably come from tradition, either from Q or from Matthew's own materials. In any case, the passage Mt. 18.15-17 shows a very regular structure; five times in succession, an 'if'-clause is followed by a main clause. Only in 18.16 has the regular structure been broken, because the main clause has been expanded by the final clause with the quotation. This final clause is expendable: it is not essential to the argument. Now we can observe at other places of Matthew's Gospel as well, that the evangelist likes to expand his source materials by Old Testament quotations: Matthew has added not only the fulfilment quotations, but also others.⁴² If we take into account these two factors, the circumstance that the quotation breaks the regular structure of Mt. 18.15-17 and Matthew's habit to add quotations, we can assume that Matthew added the final clause in 18.16 with the quotation from Deut. 19.15.

40. The expression עַל-פִּי occurs some 40x in the Hebrew Bible in the sense of 'on the basis of the utterance of', but the only instances where the LXX has the translation ἐπὶ στόματος are Deut. 19.15 (twice) and 2 Kings 23.35.

41. In the more than thirty LXX instances in which a form of ἵσταναι renders קָלַל qal (or peal), it is almost always στήναι, στήσεσθαι or ἑστάναι, but in Lev. 27.14 and Deut. 19.15 we find the passive σταθῆσεσθαι used. In the final clause of Mt. 18.16, the aor. pass. subj. σταθῇ is the obvious equivalent of the fut. pass. ind. σταθήσεται.

42. See 1.22-23; 2.15, 17-18, 23; 4.14-16; 8.17; 9.13; 12.7, 17-21, 40; 13.35; 16.27; 19.19; 21.4-5; 27.9-10, 43.

By citing the Deuteronomy verse, Matthew gives a general application to a rule that originally applied only to witnesses for the prosecution in a criminal procedure. That he does so, is not surprising: we know of other extended applications of this rule in Matthew's environment (see CD ix 22-23; Jn 8.17; 2 Cor. 13.1; 1 Tim. 5.19).⁴³ Apparently, the rule enjoyed a certain popularity as a directive that was applicable to various situations. Matthew employs it in the context of the first beginnings of canon law: the Matthean Jesus gives in 18.15-17 rules of conduct concerning sinners in the community. If a fellow Christian sins, the injured party should first try to convince him⁴⁴ face to face of his transgression, in order to win him back. If this does not work, he should try again together with one or two others, in order to increase pressure on the sinner, and, if the sinner refuses to acknowledge his sin, to make sure that there are witnesses of the refusal. If the sinner persists in his refusal, the matter should be brought before the entire community, and if the sinner continues to refuse even then, the community should terminate fellowship with him. The context, with its emphasis on forgiveness (18.12-14, 21-35), suggests that the ultimate goal even of terminating fellowship remains the return of the sinner, although a certain tension between 18.15-17 and the Matthean context is undeniable.⁴⁵ The passage demonstrates in any case that, to Matthew, forgiveness does not mean overlooking the serious offences of an unrepenting sinner.

Deut. 24.1, 3 in Mt. 19.7

In Mt. 19.3-9, Jesus is disputing with the Pharisees on the topic of divorce. In the course of the controversy, the Pharisees confront Jesus with the law on divorce by asking him why Moses ordered 'to give a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her' (19.7). The law in question is to be found in Deut. 24.1, 3. The relevant part of the two verses is completely identical in Hebrew text and LXX. The LXX, which gives here a correct translation of the Hebrew, reads in a literal translation: 'He shall write her a certificate of dismissal and give it into her hands and send her away out of his house.' The immediate source from which Matthew borrowed the regulation, was not, however, a text of Deuteronomy, but Mark, where we also find the controversy on divorce (10.2-12). In Mark, the Pharisees speak of the permission given by Moses 'to write a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her' (10.4). The reference to Deuteronomy is worded in Matthew and Mark in slightly different ways. Minor differences (invisible in the English translation) are a small change of word order and the addition of an explicit direct object; in both, Matthew follows his usual preferences. A major difference is that Matthew has

43. See H. van Vliet, *No Single Testimony: A Study on the Adoption of the Law of Deut. 19:15 par. into the New Testament* (Studia Theologica Rheno-Traiectina, 4; Utrecht: Kemink, 1958); *idem*, *Did Greek-Roman-Hellenistic Law Know the Exclusion of the Single Witness? The Answer of the Early Christian Writings / The Law of Deut. 19:15 par. and the Early Christian Writings* (Franeker: Wever, 1980).

44. Or her, of course; for the sake of simplicity, I use masculine pronouns only.

45. See U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus 3: Mt 18-25* (EKKNT, 1/3; Zürich: Benziger, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 3rd edn, 1992 [1985]), pp. 37-60.

replaced Mark's 'to write' by 'to give'. Both verbs occur in the Old Testament source; Matthew probably preferred the latter because it was the delivery of the certificate of dismissal to the wife that made the divorce definite.⁴⁶

In 19.3-9, Matthew has in many respects rewritten and reordered his source text Mk 10.2-12. In both Gospels, the controversy is characterized by a conflict between two laws from the Torah. There is on the one hand the Mosaic regulation of Deuteronomy 24, which permits a man to divorce his wife.⁴⁷ There is on the other hand the divine regulation of Genesis 1-2: God has created humans from the beginning as man and wife (Gen. 1.27), and he has said: 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh' (Gen. 2.24). This divinely ordained union precludes human separation. We meet here the problem, already mentioned, of colliding laws. In this case, the Genesis regulation comes from God himself, that of Deuteronomy comes from Moses. Moreover, the former goes back to creation, the latter dates back to a much later time. So it is evident that the Genesis regulation prevails. In Mark, the Pharisees bring forward the Deuteronomy law (10.4); Jesus then says that Moses wrote this commandment because of their hardness of heart, and he puts forward the Genesis regulation with its consequence (10.5-9). In Matthew, the sequence of the two Old Testament references has been inverted. After the initial wording of the question (19.3), Jesus refers to the divine commandment in Genesis (19.4-6), then the Pharisees point to the Deuteronomy regulation (19.7), and Jesus answers that Moses allowed divorce because of their hardness of heart (19.8). The effect of this change of sequence is that the Genesis regulation on the indissolubility of marriage is clearly presented as the rule, and the Deuteronomy regulation on divorce as the exception, caused by human weakness.

This effect is reinforced by other editorial changes of Matthew. In his version, the Pharisees respond to Jesus' presentation of God's commandment in Genesis with the question why then Moses '*commanded* us to give a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her' (19.7), and Jesus reacts by saying that because of their hardness of heart '*Moses allowed* you to divorce your wives' (19.8; cf. Mk 10.3-5). The divorce law is not a real commandment but a concession. Matthew has further made Jesus' final prohibition of divorce, which in Mk 10.10-12 is directed to the disciples, into his final word to the Pharisees (19.9). Just as in 5.32, the Matthean Jesus considers *πορνεία*, 'adultery', as the only exception to the rule that divorce is forbidden. This exception corresponds to Matthew's addition of the words 'for any cause' in the initial question of the Pharisees whether divorce is allowed (19.3 diff. Mk 10.2).⁴⁸

46. Cf. *m. Git.* 8.1-3.

47. The law of Deut. 24.1-4 is actually not about divorce, but about the question whether a man is permitted to remarry the wife whom he divorced earlier and who was married to another man in the meantime. However, a presupposition of this question is that divorce is permitted.

48. The addition reflects Jewish discussion on the interpretation of 'something objectionable' in Deut. 24.1, see, e.g., *m. Git.* 9.10.

Deut. 5.17-20, 16 in Mt. 19.18-19

In the conversation with the rich young man (Mt. 19.16-22), Matthew has the young man ask what commandments to keep in order to have eternal life. Jesus answers him by referring to the second table of the Decalogue: 'You shall not murder; You shall not commit adultery; You shall not steal; You shall not bear false witness; Honour your father and mother' (19.18-19). The Old Testament source of these commandments is Deut. 5.17-20, 16 or Exod. 20.13-16, 12, but Matthew's direct source for the entire scene has been Mark 10.17-22. As for the sequence of the commandments, Matthew obviously depends on Mk, but he has omitted the commandment 'You shall not defraud'. The omission is easily understood: this commandment is not found in the Decalogue.

Matthew's wording of the commandments differs somewhat from Mark's. In the four commandments mentioned in 19.18, Matthew uses the same Greek construction as the LXX, but Mark has a different one (10.19).⁴⁹ This does not mean that Matthew made direct use of a LXX text. We already observed that the Decalogue must have been a very familiar Old Testament passage, which circulated in many different forms and was known by heart by many. Moreover, the construction we find in Matthew and the LXX Decalogue was not unknown in classical Greek, is frequently found elsewhere in the LXX, and occurs also elsewhere in Matthew. Thirdly, by using a construction with the future tense, Matthew created similarity with the command, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself', which he added in 19.19 (diff. Mk 10.19). So Matthew simply adapted Mark's wording of the commandments to a wording with which he was familiar and which suited him here. He also omitted in his usual way the possessive genitives in the commandment 'Honour your father and your mother' (see the discussion of Mt. 15.4).

Among the changes which Matthew made in this pericope in his source Mark,⁵⁰ two are relevant to our understanding of Matthew's interpretation of the Decalogue. Firstly, Matthew added the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself from Lev. 19.18 to the second table of the Decalogue. The addition can only mean that the evangelist considered this commandment as the summary and governing principle of the commandments of the second table. Secondly, Matthew emphasizes that simply keeping the commandments is not enough; to the young man, who has kept the commandments, the Matthean Jesus finally says: 'If you wish to be perfect, go, sell your possessions, and give the money to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; then come, follow me' (19.21). The word 'perfect' (τέλειος) recalls the end of the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, when Jesus says: 'Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect' (5.48). A disciple of Jesus has to follow Jesus' interpretation of the commandments in the light of love as their governing principle. What Jesus finally requires the young man to do, is to realize the righteousness that exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees (5.20), and that is exemplified in the antitheses (5.21-48).

49. Matthew and the LXX have οὐ + 2nd pers. sg. fut. ind., Mark has μή + 2nd pers. sg. aor. subj. The Hebrew original has נָחַ + future.

50. See, e.g., Collins, 'Matthew's ἐντολαί', pp. 1326-31.

Deut. 25.5 in Mt. 22.24

Matthew's version of the dispute between Jesus and the Sadducees on the resurrection (22.23-33) was derived from Mk 12.18-27. It starts in both Gospels with a catch question worded by the Sadducees, who say there is no resurrection, and arising from the institute of levirate marriage: if seven brothers have successively been married to one wife who has remained childless, whose will she then be in the resurrection? Their question begins with a non-literal reference to the beginning of the levirate law in Deut. 25.5 in combination with Judah's command to Onan to marry his sister-in-law Tamar in Gen. 38.8. It reads in Mt. 22.24: 'If a man dies childless, his brother shall marry his widow, and raise up children for his brother.' In Mk 12.19, it reads: 'If a man's brother dies, leaving a wife but no child, his brother must take the widow and raise up children for his brother.' Matthew has simplified and abbreviated Mark's rather complex wording, but he has largely retained Mark's vocabulary. On two points, he has changed it; the question is why he did so.

Firstly, the Greek word in Mt. 22.24 translated above as 'to marry' is ἐπιγαμβρεύειν; it replaces Mark's λαμβάνειν, 'to take'. The simplex γαμβρεύειν is used in Gen. 38.8 LXX, and in Deut. 25.5 Aquila's translation has ἐπιγαμβρεύειν; in both cases, the Greek words render the Hebrew verb פָּלַל piel, translated in the NRSV as 'to perform the duty of a husband's brother'. It is possible that Matthew derived the word from a Greek translation of the Old Testament, but the simplest explanation is probably that he rewrote Mark with the help of halachic terminology which he knew from certain biblical passages and from debates on these.⁵¹ Secondly, the Greek word translated above by 'to raise up' is in Mark ἐξανιστάναι, but Matthew has instead ἀνιστάναι, and this verb also occurs in Gen. 38.8 LXX. Again there is no reason to suppose that Matthew's choice was motivated by the LXX: he generally prefers the simplex to the compound, and in this case, the use of ἀνιστάναι produces a better connection with the theme of the pericope than we find in Mark. The controversy is about the ἀνάστασις, the 'resurrection' of the dead. Both Mark and Matthew use this substantive and the verb ἀνιστάναι several times in the episode (Mt. 22.23, 28, 30, 31; Mk 12.18, 23, 25). By using ἀνιστάναι in the quotation, Matthew creates a fitting play on words: the ἀνάστασις of offspring for the dead brother is irrelevant in relation to the ἀνάστασις of the dead. So Matthew here simply edited Mark's text.

Matthew follows Mark in the interpretation of the Deuteronomy passage. It is a Mosaic regulation that is misused by the Sadducees who 'know neither the scriptures nor the power of God' (22.29), and that is irrelevant in comparison with the eschatological resurrection of the dead, when 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven' (22.30). The word of Moses in Deut. 25.5 ranks after what God himself says to Moses at the burning bush: 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' (Exod. 3.6). The fact that God says to Moses that he is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who have all died

51. So also K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2nd, 1968; orig. Lund: Gleerup, 1954), pp. 70-1.

long before Moses, proves that the patriarchs are alive, and that there is resurrection of the dead (Mt. 22.31-32).⁵² Once again, the Matthean Jesus decides in a collision of Torah texts.

Deut. 6.5 in Mt. 22.37

The dispute on the resurrection is followed in Matthew by a dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees on the question which is the greatest commandment in the law (22.34-40). Jesus' answer to this question consists of the commandments to love God (Deut. 6.5) and to love one's neighbour (Lev. 19.18). The former commandment reads in Mt. 22.37: 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.' The Greek preposition translated as 'with' is ἐν (literally 'in'). The Hebrew text of Deut. 6.5 reads in English translation: 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength.' In the LXX, the Hebrew preposition just translated as 'with' (אִתְּ, literally 'in') has become ἐξ (literally 'out of'), and for the substantive translated as 'heart' (Hebrew לֵב), we find in the textual tradition of the LXX two translations: either διάνοια, 'mind' (so cod. B and others), or καρδία, 'heart' (so cod. A and others). In Mk 12.30, the parallel of Mt. 22.37, the commandment is as follows: 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' Just as the LXX, Mark has the preposition ἐξ, and he has both possible Greek translations of the Hebrew word לֵב, so that he has a series of four, not three, human faculties.

In the case of this pericope, the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels seems to be somewhat complicated. We find the pericope in Mk 12.28-34; Mark has it, just as Matthew, in the context of the controversies during the passion week. In Luke, this dispute is found much earlier in the Gospel, as an introduction to the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10.25-28), and there are several minor agreements between Luke and Matthew against Mark. It could be that Matthew made use here not only of Mark but also of the non-Markan source from which Luke drew 10.25-28 (Q?), but this assumption is not imperative. I shall presuppose that Matthew here depends on Mark, but in view of the similarities between the versions of Deut. 6.5 in Lk. 10.27 and Mk 12.30 my argument would not be very different if the source of Mt. 22.37 were not Mk 12.30 but the source drawn upon by Luke in 10.27.

If we compare Matthew's version of Deut. 6.5 with Mark's, we observe that Matthew has changed the proposition ἐξ into ἐν. This modification makes Matthew's biblical text even more different from the LXX than Mark's already is, and closer to the Hebrew. Direct influence of the Hebrew text is not a necessary assumption: the change may have been caused by a parallel phrase elsewhere in the Old Testament or by a revised LXX. Moreover, we have seen that Deut. 6.5 must have been very well known among Jews and early Christians, so the change

52. On the logic of Jesus' argument, see W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew 3: Commentary on Matthew XLIX–XXVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), pp. 231–33; Luz, *Matthäus 3*, pp. 265–67.

of preposition does not require consultation of a written text. Matthew's other change of Mark is the omission of 'and with all your strength'. It is not easy to explain it; I see three possible explanations, which complement each other and may together constitute a plausible explanation:

- (a) Matthew omitted the final member of Mark's series of four in order to return to the traditional series of three members.⁵³
- (b) Matthew was influenced by the many Old Testament parallels that speak of 'with all your / his / their heart and with all your / his / their soul', and that occur especially in Deuteronomy.⁵⁴ He omitted the element that is not found in the shorter phrase.
- (c) The third explanation presupposes that Matthew knew the early Jewish interpretation of 'with all your strength' as 'with all your property'.⁵⁵ To Matthew (who was here apparently influenced by Q), God's kingdom makes property unimportant. This becomes clear in a very forceful way in the Q passage 6.19-34, but elsewhere in Matthew, one finds similar ideas.⁵⁶

Concerning the Matthean meaning of the Deuteronomy quotation,⁵⁷ two aspects of Matthew's redaction of the pericope deserve attention. Firstly, the evangelist makes Jesus say about the two commandments to love God and one's neighbour: 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets' (22.40, diff. Mk 12.31). In the verb 'to hang', Matthew uses Jewish terminology,⁵⁸ to indicate that the two commandments constitute a wording of the governing principle of the Torah and the prophets, and that in case of collision between laws, these two carry most weight (see further the section on Mt. 5.21-48). The commandment to love God is 'the greatest and first commandment', but the other one is of equal importance (22.38-39); the two end, so to speak, joint first. Secondly, Matthew has, by abbreviation and modification, made Mark's didactic dialogue into an outright controversy story. This suggests that the story reflects real controversy between Matthew's Christian Jews and other Jews on the ranking of the commandments.

53. So also P. Foster, 'Why Did Matthew Get the *Shema* wrong? A Study of Matthew 22:37', *JBL* 122 (2003), pp. 309-33. Foster additionally explains Matthew's omission by the wish to avoid words that did not occur in the LXX (for 'strength', Mark has *ἰσχύς*, not the LXX's *δύναμις*). This explanation is implausible: it presupposes that Matthew did not know the synonymy of *ἰσχύς* and *δύναμις*.

54. See Deut. 4.29; 10.12; 11.13; 13.4; 26.16; 30.2, 6; further, e.g., Josh. 22.5; 1 Kgs 8.48; 2 Kgs 23.3. For post-biblical occurrences, see 4QMMT^c 14-17; 2 Bar. 66.1.

55. See *Tg. Onq.*, *Tg. Neof.*, *Tg. Ps.-J.* Deut. 6.5; *m. Ber.* 9.5; *b. Ber.* 61b; *b. Pesah.* 25a; *Sifre* Deut. 6.5.

56. See 4.18-22; 8.18-22; 10.29-31; 19.21-30.

57. See, e.g., B. Gerhardsson, 'The Hermeneutic Program in Matthew 22:37-40', in *idem*, *The Shema in the New Testament: Deut 6:4-5 in Significant Passages* (Lund: Novapress, 1996), pp. 202-23 (the article dates back to 1976); Collins, 'Matthew's *ἐντολαί*', pp. 1336-43.

58. See W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur 1: Die bibel-exegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1990), p. 198; Luz, *Matthäus* 3, pp. 281-83.

Conclusion

Matthew has adopted the majority of the Deuteronomy quotations which we find in his Gospel, from his sources Mark and Q, and from other materials used by him. The changes which he makes in the quotations (so far as we can detect them), are minimal; several of them are stylistic improvements or slight adaptations to the context. Changes that affect the contents of a quotation, are the replacement of 'to write' by 'to give' (Deut. 24.1, 3 in Mt. 19.7), the omission of a commandment that is absent from the Decalogue (Deut. 5.17-20 in Mt. 19.18), and the reduction of the number of human faculties mentioned in the commandment to love God from four to three (Deut. 6.5 in Mt. 22.37). It cannot be shown that Matthew has intentionally adapted quotations from Deuteronomy to the LXX; he simply edits them in much the same way as he edits the rest of his materials.

In his role as editor, Matthew himself has also introduced a few quotations from Deuteronomy. Some of these are free paraphrases, and they do not allow conclusions on the type of Old Testament text used by the evangelist. Others agree with the LXX. For one of these (Deut. 19.21 in Mt. 5.38), the provenance from Deuteronomy is not certain, another Greek translation was hardly possible, and it concerns a well-known passage that must have circulated widely. Two others, however, were unmistakably derived from the LXX. The first of these is not an independent quotation, but an expansion, in Mt. 4.4, of a quotation from Deut. 8.3 that was already present in Q. The other is the unmarked quotation from Deut. 19.15 in Mt. 18.16. That Matthew himself makes use in these two instances of the LXX, is rather striking, because when he inserts a quotation elsewhere in his Gospel, he makes use of a revised LXX, that is, a LXX that was corrected mainly to make it better agree with the Hebrew text and to improve the quality of its Greek. So far as we can see, Matthew had a revised LXX text for Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, and the Psalms, and an unrevised LXX text for Deuteronomy. Apparently, the biblical scrolls which Matthew used and which he probably found in his local synagogue, were not all of the same textual character.⁵⁹

Matthew's selection of passages from Deuteronomy is largely governed by already existing Christian tradition. He derives most of his quotations from his sources, and many of these quotations come from well-known parts of Deuteronomy. One Deuteronomy quotation which he incorporates of his own accord (Deut. 19.15 in Mt. 18.16), is also used by several other New Testament authors.

If we look for Matthew's interpretation of the quotations from Deuteronomy, it is evident that the evangelist retains their legal character. All his Deuteronomy quotations are originally legal regulations, and they remain so in Matthew's Gospel. We have seen that Matthew does not distinguish Deuteronomy from the rest of the Torah; therefore his interpretation of the laws in Deuteronomy does not differ from his interpretation of other Old Testament laws.

Characteristic of Matthew's interpretation is that on the one hand the Torah and the prophets remain valid; the evangelist can therefore easily apply a law from

59. See Menken, *Matthew's Bible*.

Deuteronomy to the Christian community (18.16). On the other hand, there is an order of rank among the various laws of the Torah. To begin with, God's laws prevail against human traditions: keeping the commandments of the Decalogue is what matters if it comes to purity, not washing hands before meals (15.1-20). But within the Torah there are weightier and less weighty matters (cf. 23.23): the two commandments which are at the basis of the law and the prophets, are the commandments to love God and to love one's neighbour (22.34-40). These two together constitute the governing principle of the Torah, the former as far as relations between humans and God are in view, the latter as far as relations among humans are in view; therefore the command to love one's neighbour can be considered as a summary of the second table of the Decalogue (19.16-19). The governing principle is also worded as the Golden Rule, or as 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' (Hos. 6.6), or as 'justice and mercy and faith'. Application of it to a series of basic laws leads to a radical interpretation of them (5.21-48; 19.20-22). This radical interpretation can mean two things: either a sharpening, or, in case of laws that are actually concessions to human weakness, a devaluation in favour of more important laws. Such devaluation is perceptible not only in some antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, but also in 19.3-9, where God's command at the creation prevails against Moses' divorce law, and in 22.23-33, where God's word at the burning bush prevails against Moses' regulation of levirate marriage.

One gets the impression that this radical interpretation is at least one aspect of what Matthew means when he has Jesus say that he has come 'not to abolish but to fulfil' (5.17): the Matthean Jesus 'fulfils' the law by interpreting it radically. He also fulfils it, however, by obeying and doing it, as he demonstrates in an exemplary way in the temptation story (4.1-11). Both aspects together, Matthew's Jesus as a radical interpreter and as an exemplary doer of the Torah, show Matthew to firmly belong to a community of Christian Jews in conflict with other Jews over the significance of Jesus' interpretation of the Torah in word and deed.

Chapter 4

DEUTERONOMY IN LUKE-ACTS

Dietrich Rusam

Introduction

If it is understood that a quotation is an (almost) non-modified and explicitly marked taking over of a text or part of a text by a new text, then only a few quotations from the book of Deuteronomy are found in Luke-Acts. It is notable that they are all taken over from other literary works except the two quotations of Deut. 18.15:

Lk. 4.4	= Deut. 8.3	from: Q (cf. Mt. 4.4)
Lk. 4.8	= Deut. 6.13 or 10.20	from: Q (cf. Mt. 4.10)
Lk. 4.12	= Deut. 6.16	from: Q (cf. Mt. 4.7)
Lk. 10.27	= Deut. 6.5 or 10.12	from: Mk 12.28
Lk. 18.20	= Deut. 5.17-20, 16 or Exod. 20.13-16, 12	from: Mk 10.19
Lk. 20.28	= Deut. 25.5, 6	from: Mk 12.19
Acts 3.22	= Deut. 18.15-20	
Acts 7.37	= Deut. 18.15	

It is also interesting to see which quotations are probably known by Luke but are not taken over:

Mk 7.10	= Deut. 5.16 or Exod. 20.12	cf. Mt. 15.4b
Mk 10.4	= Deut. 24.1, 3	cf. Mt. 19.7; 5.31

In addition, there are further quotations in Matthew, which do not occur in Mark or Luke. But these are almost certainly insertions by Matthew into his Q-copy. The antithetical setting of the commandment to love one's enemy in Mt. 5.43 by a free rendering of Deut. 5.11, 20; 23.22 is very striking, but there is no such allusion in Lk. 6.27.

We begin with the quotation formulae used by Luke to introduce his quotations. These are: 'It is written' (Lk. 4.4, 8); 'It is said' (Lk. 4.12; differently Mt. 4.7: 'It is written'); 'What is written in the law? What do you read there?' (Lk. 10.27); 'You know the commandments' (Lk. 18.20); 'Moses wrote for us' (Lk. 20.28); 'Moses said' (Acts 3.22); and 'This is the Moses who said to the Israelites' (Acts 7.37). The passive formulations are – without a doubt – *passiva divina*, whereas in nearly all the other cases, Moses is mentioned as the author of the quoted word (exception: Lk. 18.20).

A comparison of Lk. 10.27 with Mk 12.28 shows the absence of a quotation formula in Mark. In Mark, Jesus answers the question of the expert in the Law of Moses concerning the most important commandment, by quoting Deut. 6.4, 5. But in Luke, Jesus asks back: 'What is written in the law? What do you read there?' Luke shows his readers that Jesus does not say something new but by referring to the Law, Jesus is an expert of the law by himself. Differently to Mark (and Matthew), it is Jesus' interlocutor who quotes the commandment in Luke. By this means, Luke shows two points: (1) Jesus and his interlocutor share the same assumptions; and (2) the expert of the Law, who indeed knew the right answer, gets the opportunity of asking again, so that Jesus can tell the story of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10.30-35).

The quotation formula in Lk. 18.20 is identical to Mk 10.19: 'You know the commandments.' In the same way, Jesus' interlocutor is asked for his existing knowledge even if it is Jesus who cites the commandments. The quotation formula, 'Moses wrote for us' in Mk 12.19 is also identically taken over by Luke (Lk. 20.28).

It is conspicuous that all the quotations from the book of Deuteronomy in Luke-Acts are cited by characters of the Lukan story – the story-teller never quotes.¹ The citations always have, firstly, a function in the context of the story and, secondly, a function in the events between narrator and reader. Those who cite are also important. Apart from Lk. 20.28, all quotations from the book of Deuteronomy are cited by a 'reliable character'.² Tannehill shows that these reliable characters are important for the implied author: 'When the views of a character mirror those of the implied author, we have "reliable commentary".'³ Apart from the quotation of Deut. 25.25f., all the quotations are made by a reliable character. Furthermore, all the quotations which Luke received from his tradition appear in controversies between Jesus and his interlocutors, but the quotations in Acts 3.22 and 7.37 (Deut. 18.15-29) appear in Peter's and Stephen's apologies.

The table above shows that there can be three different sources for the textual form of the Lukan quotations: Q (in Lk. 4.4, 8, 12), Mark (in Lk. 10.27; 18.20; 20.28), and a version of the Old Testament, perhaps the LXX (in Acts 3.22; 7.37). There is no question that the textual form of the quotations derived from Q is that of the LXX (the only difference with Lk. 4.8 and Mt. 4.10 is the verb προσκυνήσεις instead of φοβηθήσῃ). Also the textual form of the quotations which are taken over from Mark is that of the LXX. And it can be seen that Luke has verified the quotations he took over, because he changed in Lk. 18.20 the sequence of the verbs 'to commit adultery' (μοιχεύειν) and 'to murder' (φονεύειν) against Mk 10.19, so that his text is now closer to the text of the LXX (Deut. 5.17, 18). The allusion to Deut. 25.5, 6 in Lk. 20.28 is – as the verbal comparison shows –

1. In the whole work the story-teller quotes only twice: in Lk. 2.23, 24 (Exod. 13.2, 15 and Lev. 12.6-8).

2. W. C. Booth, *Die Rhetorik der Erzählkunst 1*, trans. by A. Polzin (UTB, 284; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1974), p. 164. In Lk. 10.27 the expert of the Law quotes Deut. 6.5 in Jesus' sense.

3. R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts. A Literary Interpretation. I. The Gospel according to Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), p. 8.

derived from Mark, even if Luke changes a few words. In Acts 3.22, 23 and 7.37 we find a rendering of Deut. 18.15, 19. The key words are identical even if the order is different. So we can be sure that Luke knew the wording of the LXX and it is the form of the text that he quoted.

There are many allusions to the book of Deuteronomy in Luke-Acts and it is likely that these are also drawn from the LXX. Stephen's speech (Acts 7), for example, is a mine of allusions to the book of Deuteronomy. Stephen remembers historical occurrences narrated in Deuteronomy (Acts 7.5 cf. Deut. 2.5; Acts 7.38 cf. Deut. 4.10; 9.10; Acts 7.41 cf. Deut. 4.28; Acts 7.45 cf. Deut. 32.49). We find the same phenomenon in the speeches of Peter (Acts 10.34 cf. Deut. 10.17) and Paul (Acts 13.17 cf. Deut. 4.34, 37; 5.15; 9.26, 29; 10.15; Acts 13.18 cf. Deut. 1.31; Acts 13.19 cf. Deut. 7.1; and Acts 17.26 cf. Deut. 32.8). Here the book of Deuteronomy is used in a way similar to that in which the Scriptures are used in *4 Maccabees* in the last speech of the Judean mother to her seven sons (*4 Macc.* 18.11-18). Although it would be interesting to analyse these and other allusions in Luke-Acts, for reasons of space, I will confine myself to the quotations in this chapter.

Quotations from Deuteronomy in Luke-Acts

The Testing by the Devil (Luke 4.1-13)

The three quotations from the book of Deuteronomy in the Lukan story of the testing of Jesus by the devil are no doubt originally derived from the LXX – as the identical wording shows.⁴ But for Luke, the climax is the temptation in which the devil cites a Scripture passage (Ps. 91.11, 12) to underline his challenge. Jesus' quotation of Deut. 6.16 concludes not only the third temptation but the temptation story as a whole. The devil is now defeated for a while (ἄχρι καιροῦ).

The function of these three quotations in Luke 4 is identical, even if only Deut. 6.13 and Deut. 6.16 are explicit prohibitions. But Jesus derives from the statement in Deut. 8.3 the prohibition of turning the stones into bread. In this respect, the quotations from the book of Deuteronomy are understood legally.

Before the temptation story we find the story of Jesus' baptism (Lk. 3.21, 22) and his genealogy (Lk. 3.23-38). In both passages, the subject is Jesus' divine sonship. This sonship is going to be tested in the temptation story. After overcoming the test, Jesus' divine sonship is also important for his first speech in his hometown Nazareth (cf. Lk. 4.22). At the same time, the motive of possessing the spirit is embedded into the context of the temptation story: the reader is told that Jesus was filled by the Holy Spirit and led into the desert by the Holy Spirit (Lk. 4.1). This is the link to Jesus' baptism (Lk. 3.22) and to Jesus' first speech in Nazareth (Lk. 4.16, 18).

4. Cf. the synopsis in D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas* (BZNW, 112; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 90–6; M. J. J. Menken, 'Deuteronomy in Matthew's Gospel', in this book.

The diegetical model of the temptation story is Exod. 34.28 (Moses was 40 days and 40 nights upon Mount Sinai and during this time he ate and drank nothing) and 1 Kings 19 (Elijah in the desert was forced by an angel to eat and to drink and to go 40 days and 40 nights to Mount Horeb).⁵ Indeed, the origin of the quotations in the temptation story cited by Jesus (Deut. 8.3; 6.13, 16) is a sign for these diegetical allusions.⁶ But there is no doubt that Luke derived his temptation story from Q.

The wording of the quotation in Lk. 4.4 is identical to Mt. 4.4 and Deut. 8.3. At the same time we have the same quotation formula in Mt. 4.4 and Lk. 4.4: 'it is written'. But different to Mt. 4.4, the quotation in Lk. 4.4 stops after seven words. Unfortunately we do not have Q, so there are two possibilities: either Luke cancelled the second part of the quotation or Matthew added it. This second possibility is more likely. According to Brawley, Luke wants to present Jesus as a man who 'lives by the word that comes from God in his responses to the second and third temptation'.⁷ In the context of Luke-Acts this quotation has a special function, because the 'Author of life' (Acts 3.15; 5.21) is the one who cites this word. Thus, it is clear, that it is the word of God which leads to life.

The quotation formula of the second citation in Lk. 4.8 is nearly identical to Mt. 4.10 ('For it is written'). Both quotations (Lk. 4.8 and Mt. 4.10) agree in using the same verb ('worship – προσκυνήσεις) and in adding the intensifying adjective 'alone'. Deut. 6.13 LXX differs on these two points (φοβηθήσῃ and no adjective 'alone'). The source of the quotation is therefore without doubt Q.⁸ According to Robbins, the omission of Deut. 6.12 gives the quotation 'a crisp, proverbial function in the verbal contest between Jesus and the devil'.⁹ The use of the verb προσκυνεῖν is appropriate to Luke-Acts: in Lk. 4.7 the devil makes use of the same verb. And it is clear in Acts 7.43, 10.25, that only God and the resurrected Jesus are to be worshipped. Finally, it is important to see that the Gospel according to Luke ends with the worshipping of Jesus by the disciples (Lk. 24.52).

At the end of the quotation we find the word 'to serve' (λατρεύειν). It recalls Zechariah's hymn of praise, after which the aim of God's salvation work is the serving (λατρεύειν) of God, which begins with the birth of John the Baptist (Lk. 1.74). The prophetess Anna is an example of serving God pre-resurrection (Lk. 2.37), and Paul is an example of serving God post-resurrection (Acts 24.14; 27.23).

5. According to V. K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse. Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 107, these parallels are a kind of 'reconfiguration'.

6. Cf. R. L. Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech. Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 18. Brawley recognizes the story of Num. 20.8 behind this temptation, because there 'in a similar way, the devil tempts Jesus to command a stone to become a loaf of bread'.

7. Brawley, *Text*, p. 19.

8. In a similar way T. Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas* (Berlin: Akad. Verlag, 1968), p. 62.

9. Robbins, *Tapestry*, p. 104.

The note¹⁰ that follows the statement that power over the nations of the earth has been given to the devil¹¹ and he can give it to whom he wants, is inserted by Luke (Lk. 4.6). This assertion and the rejection by Jesus shows a dualism, which is the background of Luke's story of Jesus: the earth is under the power of Satan, and Jesus 'fights' in his way for the freedom of humankind against Satan (cf. Lk. 1.71, 74; 4.18, 19 etc.).

The devil's quotation is problematic, for the wording in Lk. 4.10, 11 is not identical either to Ps. 91.11, 12 nor to Mt. 4.6, but the citation formula ('For it is written') is identical (Lk. 4.10; Mt. 4.6). In Mt. 4.6, the quotation looks like a united complete sentence, but Luke inserts a part of Ps. 91.11b and shows, by doing so, that the two originally separated parts have been brought together as a unity.¹² The Matthean version seems here to be the older one.¹³

Jesus answers by using a Scripture just as Satan did. But this time the citation formula differs to that in Mt. 4.7. Instead of 'It is written', we find in Lk. 4.12, 'Because it is said' (ὅτι εἰρηται). The prohibition to tempt God in Lk. 4.12 is just the same as it is in Deut. 6.16 and Mt. 4.7. We find the word 'to tempt, to put to the test' (ἐκπειράζειν) only twice in Luke-Acts (Lk. 4.12; 10.25). In the second passage an expert in the Law of Moses tempts Jesus and Jesus answers by using a question (Lk. 10.26).¹⁴ Luke wants to establish a connection between these two passages. This is likely because Matthew and Mark are using different verbs in this context: Mark has 'he asked' (Mk 12.28) and Matthew presents the simple verb 'to test' (πειράζειν, Mt. 22.35).

The Lukan introduction of the temptation story (Lk. 4.1, 2) and its ending (Lk. 4.13) show that Jesus' answer fits each temptation and so finishes the whole temptation story as well. For Jesus' followers, the only possibility not to be led into temptation is through prayer (cf. Lk. 11.4; 22.40, 46), because at the end of a temptation secession is probable (Lk. 8.13).

The background of this ending of the Lukan temptation story is the story of Ahaz and Isaiah in Isaiah 7.10-14. King Ahaz refuses to ask for a sign by using the prohibition to tempt God. But different to Isaiah 7, the starting point in Luke 4 is not God's invitation but Satan's demand, in spite of Ps. 91.11, 12. By using Ps. 91.11, 12, it seems that Satan's demand is God's promise, but the reader knows that Ps. 91.11, 12 is used by Satan and that Satan uses the Scripture in a wrong way to tempt Jesus. Satan is going to become unmasked by Jesus' answer.¹⁵ This

10. Cf. A. Polag, *Fragmenta Q. Texttheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verl., 2nd edn, 1982), p. 32.

11. Here the same word is used as in the betrayal (Lk. 22.4, 6, 21, 22, 48). Jesus is going to be delivered up to the satan (παραδόναι).

12. Holtz, *Untersuchungen*, p. 57; cf. C. A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel* (JSNTSup, 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), p. 88.

13. Cf. the Q-wording in Polag, *Fragmenta Q*, p. 30. But Holtz (*Untersuchungen*, p. 57), suggests that Matthew has shortened the Lukan version.

14. Cf. the 'temptation' (πειράζειν) of Jesus in Lk. 11.16.

15. Cf. Brawley, *Text*, p. 22: 'Here the devil calls into question the fundamental efficacy of scripture if Jesus does not leap because he doubts the dependability of the divine promises of Ps. 90:11-12 LXX, or if he does leap and the divine promises fail.'

is the reason why Luke changed the sequence of the temptation in comparison to Matthew. Luke's third temptation is the hardest one because Satan uses a Scripture text. Jesus' answer concludes the whole temptation story and overcomes Satan 'for a while'.

How to become an Heir to Eternal Life – I (Luke 10.27)

The literary model of the quotation from the book of Deuteronomy in Lk. 10.27 is not clear. By comparing Mk 10.17-22 and Lk. 10.25-28 one notices important differences: the question at the beginning (Mk 12.28; Lk. 10.25) is different – and the one citing is also different: in Mk 12.29-31, it is Jesus himself who quotes Deut. 6.5 (or Deut. 10.12), but in Lk. 10.27, it is the expert of the Law who quotes the Scripture. Furthermore, there are minor agreements between Mt. 22.34-40 and Lk. 10.25-28 against Mk 12.28-34: (a) the qualification of Jesus' interlocutor as 'expert of the Law' (νομικός – Mt. 22.35; Luke 10.25); (b) the intention to tempt Jesus ([ἐκ]πειράζειν – Mt. 22.35; Lk. 10.25); (c) the indication of Jesus as a teacher (διδάσκαλος – Mt. 22.36; Lk. 10.25); (d) the expression 'in the law' (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ – Mt. 22.36; Lk. 10.26); and (e) the omission of Deut. 6.4 in Mt. 22.37 and Lk. 10.27. Three different opinions among scholars are to be considered here:¹⁶

1. Luke and Matthew have used a common source (sometimes identified as Q¹⁷) and, in addition to that, some material from Mark (esp. Mk 10.17-22 and 12.28-34).¹⁸
2. Luke took the story out of his *Sondergut*, because he tells here a different story to that of Mk 12.28-34.¹⁹
3. Luke's pattern here is Mk 12.28-34 (and probably Mk 10.17-34). Only the story of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10.29-37) is derived from his *Sondergut*.²⁰

16. The sources are discussed in H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium, 2. Teil, Erste Folge (Kapitel 9,51-11,54)* (HTKNT, III 2/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), pp. 136–40.

17. So, for example, C. M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity. Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), p. 22, and J. Lambrecht, 'The Great Commandment Pericope and Q' in R. A. Piper (ed.), *The Gospel behind the Gospels. Current Studies on Q* (NovTSup, 75; Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 73–96, esp. 76–8.

18. Cf. for example A. J. Hultgren, 'The Double Commandment of Love in Mt 22.34-40', *CBQ* 36 (1974), pp. 373–78; E. E. Ellis, 'New Directions in Form Criticism' in *idem, Prophecy and Hermeneutic* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), pp. 237–53, esp. 248f. nn. 47f., and J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1993), p. 580.

19. Cf. T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus as Recorded in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke Arranged with Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM, 1971), pp. 259–61; and I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), pp. 440f.

20. N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1967), pp. 123f; V. P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), pp. 34–45; J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1957), pp. 150–52; C. K. Barrett, *Luke-Acts*, in D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (eds), *It is written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (FS B. Lindars; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 231–44, esp. 232, is not sure, whether his suggestion of the Markan source is correct.

Space prohibits further discussion of these views²¹ but the third possibility has the merit of not postulating another source that is no longer extant.²²

It is important to notice that Luke has changed the sequence. The question of which is the most important commandment (Mk 12.28-34) is in Luke the question of how to become an heir to eternal life. Luke knew this question already since he had read it in Mark 10.17. In addition, Luke moved the story away from Jerusalem (so Mark) to the beginning of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. At this point in Mark, when Jesus is asked about the most important commandment, Luke only has the sentence: 'They no longer dared to ask him another question' (Lk. 20.40). Thus Luke avoids a duplication.

The starting point of the quotation in Lk. 10.25 is not, 'Which commandment is the first of all?' (as Mk 12.28) but the question which, slightly changed, comes from Mk 10.17 ('Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?'). This same question the rich man will ask Jesus again at the end of his journey to Jerusalem (Lk. 18.18). For Luke, the theoretical question about the most important commandment is not as interesting as the question about the value of the Torah.²³ Both questions (Lk. 10.25 and 18.18) are nearly identical, so that the different answers (Lk. 10.27 and 18.20) are very conspicuous.

We have already noticed that the verb 'to test' (ἐκπειράζειν), which occurs in the introduction to the citation (Lk. 10.25) and only once more in Luke-Acts as a prohibition, is derived from Deut. 6.16: 'Do not put the Lord your God to the test' (Lk. 4.12). This is interesting because Mt. 22.35 has the simple verb 'to test – πειράζειν'. The expert of the Law violates the commandment of Deut. 6.16. This is the reason for Jesus' answer, the counter-question – in difference to the Markan pattern (Mk 12.29-31) and the Matthean parallel (Mt. 22.37-39): 'What is written in the law? What do you read there?' Jesus does not let himself be tested – just as he refuses the testing of God (Lk. 4.12). He underlines the validity of the commandment in Deut. 6.16. So the expert of the Law has to cite the Law by himself. By doing this, he is able to continue the conversation by asking: 'Who is my neighbour?' Luke describes this question as an attempt to justify himself. The reader realizes that the expert of the Law knows that he had tried to test Jesus.

The comparison between Lk. 10.27 and its presumed model²⁴ in Mk 12.30, 33 shows two main differences: (a) the omission of the introduction (Deut. 6.4 – Mk 12.30a); and (b) the combination of originally two commandments into one. The omission of 'Hear O Israel, ...' depends on the different question at the beginning. The expert of the Law does not ask Jesus about the most important commandment

21. Cf. the discussion about the source for Lk. 10.27 in F. Noë, 'The Double Commandment of Love in Lk 10.27. A Deuteronomistic Pillar or Lukan Redaction of Mk 12.29-33?', in C. M. Tuckett (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETL, 131; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 1997), pp. 559–70, esp. 561–66.

22. Noë, 'Commandment', p. 566, concludes, that 'Mk 12.29-33 and the Septuagint' are the sources for Lk. 10.27.

23. This shows K. Salo, *Luke's Treatment of the Law. A Redaction-Critical Investigation* (AASF, 57; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1991), p. 109: 'Luke does not wish to discuss a single commandment, but rather the whole law.'

24. Cf. Noë's text critical suggestions ('Commandment', pp. 560f.).

(cf. Mk 12.28), but he wants to know what he has to do in order to become an heir of eternal life. The beginning of the quotation, which we do not find in Luke (Deut. 6.4), is appropriate to the Markan question, but it does not fit in with the question in Lk. 10.25.²⁵ Concerning the combination, the commandment of loving one's neighbour is so close to the commandment of loving God in Lk. 10.27 that it seems to be only one single commandment. Matthew and Luke obviously had a problem with the subordination of the commandment of loving neighbour under the commandment of loving God. In Matthew Jesus fits in the sentence: 'The second [commandment] is like it' (Mt. 22.39). But in Luke the expert in the law omits the second, 'you shall love', and puts the two commandments together in this way. So for Matthew and Luke, the commandment of loving the neighbour is as important as the commandment of loving God.

The headword 'neighbour' leads up to the story of the good Samaritan. This story interprets the commandment of loving one's neighbour. The topic of loving God is exemplified in the following passages (Lk. 10.38-42; 11.1-13). The question, 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' shows that 'the term of deeds which were previously viewed in 10.20, 21-24 in an eschatological perspective' is the new subject.²⁶ It also reminds us of the questions to John the Baptist in Lk. 3.10, 12, 14 ('What should we do?') and the question to Peter at Pentecost in Acts 2.37 ('What should we do?'). Jesus answers these questions in Luke 10.28 and 10.37: 'Do this, ...' and 'Go and do likewise'. So Luke describes the expert of the Law (the tester in Luke 10.25) as clever, when the expert uses a question that is normally asked by converts: 'What should we do?' Verhoef shows that according to Luke, 'for Jesus doing the law is the way to obtain eternal life'.²⁷ Indeed, Jesus' concluding demand ('do this, and you will live') relates to the Law. The question as to who can possibly fulfil the two commandments in Lk. 10.27 is not answered. So it is no coincidence that in Lk. 18.26 it is asked: 'Then who can be saved?' In his answer in Lk. 18.27, Jesus points to God's activity: 'What is impossible for mortals is possible for God.' Exactly this insight is found in the story of the merciful father in Lk. 15.11-31. Here the father establishes: 'This son of mine was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found' (Lk. 15.24; cf. 15.32). Repentance and turning back is like a resurrection. This is the reason why the call to repentance and turning back is very important for the Lukan Jesus (Lk. 5.32; 13.3, 5; 15.10; 16.39), just as it is for the early Christian preaching (Lk. 24.47; Acts 2.38, etc.).

The turning back enabled by God gives humankind the chance to be saved and to become heirs to eternal life. So there is no difference between Jesus' answer in Lk. 10.28 and Peter's answer in Acts 2.38. According to Luke, the keeping of the

25. Cf. Noël, 'Commandment', p. 568: 'The evangelist evaluated the "Shema" as an inadequate answer to the question τί ποιήσας'.

26. R. von Bendemann, *Zwischen ΔΟΞΑ und ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ. Eine exegetische Untersuchung der Texte des sogenannten Reiseberichts im Lukasevangelium* (BZNW, 101; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), p. 121.

27. E. Verhoef, '(Eternal) Life and Following the Commandments. Lev 18,5 and Luke 10,28', in C. M. Tuckett (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETL, 131; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 1997), pp. 571-77, esp. 576f.

Torah commandments and the obtaining of eternal life automatically follows repentance and baptism in the name of Christ for the forgiveness of sins.²⁸ In this way, after his resurrection, Jesus is the 'Author of life' (Acts 3.15; 5.31); the offer of repentance is open until death. This is to be seen as the fate of the two criminals hanging on the cross: the way to life is repentance (Lk. 23.40-42) and forgiveness of sins (Lk. 23.43). These can take place shortly before death – as Jesus' promise shows; for the other criminal any help will be too late.

The story of the rich man and poor Lazarus (Lk. 16.19-31) illustrates the idea, that Moses and the prophets are normally sufficient as guides to life (Lk. 16.28-31). In its Lukan context the story aims at a change of conduct (cf. v. 30: μετανοεῖν). Repentance and turning back²⁹ are unconditional elements on someone's way through life.

The reason why in Lk. 10.30-37 a Samaritan is a model for Jews³⁰ is the following: Samaritans are neither Jews nor Gentiles. Luke regards them highly and by doing so he prepares the reader³¹ for the future Christian mission among the Gentiles: the Samaritan in Lk. 17.16 shows that Jesus himself already gave his benefits to Samaritans and so he passed the borderlines of the Jewish nation (cf. Lk. 2.31, 32; 24.47; Acts 1.8). So we see that, according to the Lukan Jesus, the way to eternal life is not to be a Jew but to do the two most important Torah commandments.

How to become an Heir to Eternal Life – II (Luke 18.20)

The variable elements of the commandments in Lk. 18.20 show little differences with their sources. Possible models of Lk. 18.20 are Exod. 20.12-16; Deut. 5.16-20 and, of course, Mk 10.19. A comparison between Lk. 18.20 and Mk 10.19 reveals two differences: (1) the first two commandments have changed places in Luke; and (2) the prohibition to defraud is omitted in Luke. Both differences depend on a Lukan revision of the Markan version by using Exod. 20.12-16 or Deut. 5.16-20. Luke adapted his passage to the LXX text.

The starting question, 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' (Lk. 18.18), follows the story of Jesus' blessing of the little children. According to Lk. 18.17, this man will not get into God's kingdom unless he enters it like a child. This opinion forces the question, what has an adult to do to enter God's kingdom? The starting question of the important man³² is the same as the question of the expert

28. Cf. L. Schottroff, 'ζῶν κτλ.', *EWNT* 2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2nd edn, 1992), cols 261-71, esp. 270: 'Der Weg zum Leben ist μετάνοια, Sündenvergebung (...) und die Erfüllung der Tora (s. bes. Lk 10,25-31; 16,27-31).'

29. According to Luke 10.25-28 the keeping of the commandment of loving God and the neighbour opens the possibility of becoming an heir of eternal life.

30. Cf. Luke 17.11-19: the only man among the healed people, who returned to Jesus to thank him was a Samaritan.

31. G. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte – Heil für die Welt: Eine narrativ-exegetische Studie zur Theologie des Lukas* (BZNW, 92; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 44-67, explains the figure of the implied reader in Luke-Acts.

32. The word describes representatives of the Jews, mostly in opposition to Jesus or the Christian community: Lk. 8.41; 12.58; 14.1; 18.18; 23.13, 35; 24.20; Acts 3.17; 4.5, 8, 26; 13.27.

of the Law in Lk. 10.25. In both passages, the same answer is formally given: commandments of the Law are quoted. In Lk. 10.27, it is Jesus' interlocutor who cites and in Lk. 18.20 it is Jesus who cites. But Jesus' sentence, 'You know the commandments' (Lk. 18.20a), and the important man's first answer ('I have kept all these [commandments] since my youth' – Lk. 18.21) show a fundamental agreement: the commandments of the law are very important.

But the problem of why in Lk. 10.25 a different answer is given to Luke 18.18 is still not solved. In both passages, the way to become an heir to eternal life is to keep the commandments. The new aspect in Lk. 18.18–29 is the question of whether the commandments can be fulfilled. The important man claims: 'I have kept all these.' The implied reader of this passage realizes that the important man has no need for repentance. This is the reason why Jesus repeats a commandment that he had already given to his disciples in Lk. 12.33 (cf. 14.33): 'Sell all that you own and distribute the money to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; then come, follow me' (Lk. 18.22). According to Luke, everyone who wants to be Jesus' disciple has to sell everything³³ and give it to the poor, as Lk. 12.33 and 14.33 show. And indeed, Jesus promises his disciples 'in the age to come eternal life' at the end of the passage (Lk. 18.30). It is important to notice that the demand in Lk. 18.22 combines the commandment of loving God ('then come, follow me') and the commandment of loving the neighbour ('sell all that you own and distribute the money to the poor') – just as it was in Lk. 10.27. So there is no fundamental difference between the two answers to the same question in Lk. 10.25 and Lk. 18.18.

In Lk. 18.18–29, it is an important man of the Jewish nation (cf. Lk. 8.41; 12.58 and others)³⁴ who is not able to fulfil the commandment to give up his riches. In a similar way in Lk. 10.30–36, it is not a priest or a Levite but a Samaritan who fulfils the Jewish commandment of loving the neighbour. In both passages, it is clear that in Luke's eyes the failure of the Jewish people leads to the broadening of salvation to the Gentiles.

Schottroff and Stegemann have showed that in Luke, the voluntary poverty of Jesus' disciples has 'the character of a literary ideal': 'that it concerns a literary ideal is shown as LK cannot imagine involuntary poverty of Jesus' disciples. He sees their poverty as a respectable effort of sacrifice.'³⁵ This is likely, as our passage shows. Jesus' answer in Lk. 18.20 finishes the story but the important man is not satisfied. When Jesus hears his reply (Lk. 18.22a), he is given a task which he will not be able to achieve and which is much more than, for example, what is asked of Zacchaeus (Lk. 19.8). So Jesus' answer to the important man shows that

33. The order to sell everything (πάντα) is added by Luke (cf. Mk 10.21).

34. Cf. M. Klinghardt, *Gesetz und Volk Gottes: Das lukanische Verständnis des Gesetzes nach Herkunft, Funktion und seinem Ort in der Geschichte des Urchristentums* (WUNT, II/32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), pp. 132–35, who describes the financial and social position of the ἀρχοντες among the Jews.

35. L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann, *Jesus von Nazareth – Hoffnung der Armen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 3rd edn, 1990), p. 105. In Acts 5.1; 10.2 it is not the aim, to sell everything and to give it to the poor.

he will fail when he tries to become an heir to eternal life through obeying the commandments by his own power. He must always be dependent on God's forgiving of sins.

The demand to sell everything shows the implied reader the necessity of repentance, which leads to life. Perhaps it is possible to keep all of the commandments cited in Lk. 18.20 but the demand to love God and neighbour as illustrated by Jesus is more than humankind is able to do.³⁶ So Jesus' audience does not ask how a rich man can be saved, but more generally, 'Then who can be saved?' And Jesus points to God rather than human possibilities (Lk. 18.27).

Now it becomes clear why Jesus at the beginning of the passage refuses to be characterized as 'good' (Lk. 18.19). The statement, 'No one is good but God alone' is conspicuous, because in Luke-Acts, individual people can be denoted as 'good' (Lk. 6.45; 19.17; 23.50; Acts 11.24). But the verse remembers God's goodness in comparison to the malice of the audience in Lk. 11.13. Indeed, a person by himself is not good (and righteous – cf. Lk. 23.50). No one can be saved by himself, but 'what is impossible for mortals is possible for God' (Lk. 18.27).

The quotation in Lk. 18.20 shows people a way to become an heir to eternal life – just as it was in Lk. 10.25ff. But now it is clear that this way is not practical. Humankind is not able to keep the commandment of loving God and neighbour. This is the reason why Luke changed the question, 'Which commandment is the first of all?' (Mk 12.28), into the question, 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' Luke wants to continue the train of thought on how to become an heir to eternal life in Lk. 18.18-29, with the question of its practicability for humankind. The realization that humankind is insufficient ('No one is good but God alone') and repentance is necessary because only God is able to save someone is important. Only he has the possibility to give someone the heritage of eternal life. To enter God's kingdom like a child (Lk. 18.17) means that the entering is undeserved. The commandments in Lk. 18.20, 22 show the implied readers their own inability to become heirs to eternal life.

The Question Concerning Resurrection (Luke 20.28)

The introduction to the quotation is taken over from Mk 12.19: 'Teacher, Moses wrote ...' There is no question that this is a citation formula (cf. Lk. 2.23; 10.26) but it is interesting that the citation cannot be found literally in the Old Testament Scriptures. The Sadducees appear here for the first time in Luke-Acts as Jews who do not believe that people would rise to life after death (cf. Acts 4.1; 23.8).³⁷

36. Cf. Schottroff and Stegemann, *Jesus*, p. 104: 'Heute aber – zur Zeit der 1k Gemeinde – kann niemand mehr Jesus nach Jerusalem folgen, hat sich nicht nur die spezifische Form der Nachfolge überholt, sondern ist auch das Problem des Reichtums anders zu beurteilen.'

37. To the historical background of the denying of resurrection by the Sadducees cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.1; *b. Sanh.* 90b; *'Abot R. Nat.* 5; *m. Sanh.* 10.1; *m. Ber.* 9.5; *Tanh.* 3a (cf. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch 1: Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* [München: Beck, 8th edn, 1982], pp. 885f.; R. Meyer, 'Σαδδουκαῖος', *TWNT* 7 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964], pp. 35–54, esp. 46f.; A. Oepke, 'ἀνίστημι κτλ.', *TWNT* 1, pp. 368–72, esp. 370; Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, p. 168 n. 77).

And exactly this characteristic of faith is the theme of the following conversation. Because of the commandment in Deut. 25.5f. (Lk. 20.28) and a theoretically possible case (Lk. 20.29-32), the Sadducees ask the question: 'In the resurrection, whose wife will the woman be?' The conviction behind this question is that there is no resurrection. The reader knows this because of the introduction of the Sadducees in Lk. 20.27. The citation itself is taken over from Mk 12.19.

Formally the question of the Sadducees is similar to the third temptation in Lk. 4.9-12. There the devil uses an Old Testament citation to test Jesus too. Luke's account differs from Mark in that there is no tough confrontation between Jesus and the Sadducees: Jesus does not rebuke them; the case presented by the Sadducees is not interpreted as ridiculing the hope of resurrection;³⁸ the conversation is conducted in a pleasant atmosphere, so that some of the experts of the Law evaluate Jesus' answer positively: 'Teacher, you have spoken well' (Lk. 20.39).³⁹ We see here the first dispute between Pharisees and Sadducees, which becomes obvious in Paul's trial in Jerusalem (Acts 23.6-10). In Acts 23 it is clear that the Christian belief in resurrection agrees with the hopes of the Pharisees.

Luke explains to his readers three times (Lk. 20.27; Acts 4.1, 2; 23.6-8) that the Sadducees do not believe that people would rise to life after death. This shows that we do not find here a discussion which is derived from Luke's own time.⁴⁰ Important are (a) Jesus' answer in Lk. 20.34-36; and (b) the refusal of the negation of resurrection in Lk. 20.37-38. In regard to the first, Jesus states that resurrected people will be like the angels and will be God's children (v. 36). According to Acts 23.8, this contradicts the belief of the Sadducees.⁴¹ The Lukan Jesus wants to explain that life after resurrection will be totally different from that before resurrection (v. 34).

In regard to the second point, Jesus points to Moses (v. 37). This is a link to the quotation formula of the Sadducees in v. 28 and shows that Jesus and his interlocutors share the same basis. The function of the citation in v. 37 is to make the fact of the resurrection comprehensible, even if the Sadducees do not agree. The question of the Sadducees simply gives Jesus the possibility to show that resurrection is in accordance with the Scriptures. The citation formula in v. 37a makes it clear that the following quotation is only a hint to resurrection. The Lord is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but these three fathers have died already. So Jesus concludes that the Lord is not the God of the dead, but of the living (v. 38). Marshall summarizes: 'Only living people can have a God, and therefore God's promise to the patriarchs that he is/will be their God requires that he maintain

38. According to Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, p. 170, the question of the Sadducees is polemical: '...they were not actually asking a serious question, but they were posing a far-fetched situation to make belief in the resurrection look ridiculous.' Similarly, Tannehill, *Narrative Unity 1*, p. 190: 'Once again the intention is to "catch" Jesus, this time by embarrassing him before the people through a trick question.'

39. But I do not think that Luke identifies Sadducees and γραμματεῖς.

40. Cf. G. Kegel, *Auferstehung Jesu – Auferstehung der Toten: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1970), p. 84.

41. This had already shown L. T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 317.

them in life.⁴² The three fathers are an intertextual sign: according to Lk. 13.23-28, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the prophets are assembled in God's reign, that is, they live. The story of poor Lazarus, who died and then was consoled in a place of honour next to Abraham (Lk. 16.19-31), should also be associated with this. Finally, the blessings in Lk. 6.20-26 presuppose resurrection just as the double question about how to become an heir to eternal life (Lk. 10.25; 18.18) does. According to Acts 4.2 and Acts 17.18 the message of resurrection depends on Jesus' resurrection.⁴³ Before Easter the argumentation is different. Only Moses is able to 'show' (v. 37: *μηνύω*) the resurrection of the dead, but he is not able to prove it. Jesus' resurrection is the proof (cf. Lk. 24.44-48; Acts 2.24-32; 3.15; 5.31; 13.32-39; 26.23, etc.).

The dispute between Jesus and the Sadducees shows the reader how to use the Scriptures. Because the reader knows that Jesus is resurrected and that there is therefore a hope of resurrection for the believer, the dispute points to Jesus' and the believer's resurrection. And the Sadducees deny the centre of the Christian preaching. Lk. 20.40 shows that there is a turning point in Jesus' work. His opponents were not able to refute him. Verse 40 points back to Lk. 4.13, the last sentence in the temptation story. An edge is reached when Jesus' interlocutors use a Scripture quotation against Jesus (in a wrong way – as Jesus' answer always shows).

The 'Prophet like Moses' – I (Acts 3.22)

Acts 3.18 is a summary of the whole of the first part of Peter's speech in Acts 3.12-26. The human deeds done in ignorance are in a sharp contrast to the divine actions. Peter connects earlier statements of Zacharias and Jesus (Lk. 1.70; 18.31; 24.44-46) with the first part of his speech. The reference to the sayings of the prophets from the beginning is an intertextual signal. The reader should remember the allusions to Scripture, especially in the first part of the speech.

Peter makes exact use of the keywords, which were used by the resurrected Jesus according to Lk. 24.44-47 ('to be fulfilled' [Lk. 24.44] and 'to suffer', with 'the Christ' as subject [Lk. 24.46; cf. Lk. 24.26 and Acts 17.3]). This observation shows that Peter's sermon stands in continuity with the words of the earthly (cf. Lk. 9.22; 18.31) and resurrected Jesus. At the same time, the assertion in v. 18 is going to be verified in the Scripture proof in Acts 4.24-30.

In Acts 3.19-21, Peter describes the consequences of Jesus' passion (v. 18). The request for repentance is similar to Acts 2.38 but in Acts 3 it is motivated by the role of the Jews in Jesus' passion and reinforced by the call to conversion.⁴⁴ This call occurs in the middle of the speech. It refers to the appeals of the earthly

42. Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, p. 743; cf. also J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (AB, 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986), pp. 1306f.

43. Cf. O. Schwankl, *Die Sadduzäerfrage (Mk. 12,18-27 parr): Eine exegetisch-theologische Studie zur Auferstehungserwartung* (BBB, 66; Frankfurt a.M.: Athenäum, 1987), p. 462.

44. A different opinion has W. H. Marty, *The New Moses* (unpublished dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984), p. 188: 'μετανοέω focuses on the negative aspect of turning away from sin, and ἐπιστρέφω on the positive direction of turning to God and a new way of life'.

Jesus (cf. Lk. 5.32; 13.3.5; 15.7.10; 16.30) and verifies the *heilsgeschichtliche* necessity of the call to repentance as asserted by the resurrected Jesus in Luke 24.47. This connection shows Peter's call for repentance to the Jerusalem Jews begins to fulfil God's plan which is foretold in the Scripture.

The use of the Scripture is similar to the use of the Scripture in the first Petrine speech (Acts 1.16-22). Peter first cites biblical references that are already fulfilled (cf. Acts 3.18; 1.16-20b) and then points to biblical references which are yet to be fulfilled (cf. Acts 3.19; Lk. 24.47; cf. Acts 1.20c-26). But in Acts 1, it is only in the fictional world of the participants for the reader of Luke-Acts knows that both kinds of biblical quotations have been fulfilled.

Verse 20 follows by using a final conjunction,⁴⁵ ὅπως ἄν. This is not to imply that present repentance may accelerate the coming of the times of refreshment (καίροι ἀναψύξεως). According to Acts 1.7, the times are χρόνοι καὶ καιροί predestined by the Father alone. And the addressee of the call of repentance cannot be the reader, who is already a Christian. So Peter says nothing about an acceleration of the Parousia. But he calls his listeners to repentance, so that the times of refreshment come to them anyway. So we see that the Jewish listener's salvation is at stake. This assumption is supported by the quotation from Deut. 18.19 and Lev. 23.29 in Acts 2.23, as we shall see.

Some scholars deny that the times of refreshment are an event that takes place at the Parousia.⁴⁶ They think the times of refreshment are present in the Christian community. But the kingdom of God is exclusively bound to Jesus' crucifixion, resurrection and exaltation and so it has acquired a purely heavenly dimension since Jesus' exaltation.⁴⁷ So we may suggest that only the earthly restoration of the kingdom of God will bring the times of refreshment to the followers of Jesus. This suggestion is in accordance with the significance of the miracles in the book of Acts. What follows in v. 20 supports our suggestion because the sending of Jesus does not concern his earthly work but his coming at the Parousia; perhaps we have here an allusion to the eschatological sending of Elijah (cf. Mal. 3.22f.).

Verse 21a alludes to the ascension narrative (Acts 1.6-11; cf. Lk. 24.50-53); by using the expression ἀποκατάστασις, it alludes especially to the disciples' question in Acts 1.6: 'Lord, is this the time when you will restore (ἀποκαθιστάνεις) the kingdom to Israel?' So what are the times of restoration of all (χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων)? They are not identical to the times of refreshment

45. Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner and F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), § 369 n. 11; similar Lk. 2.35; Acts 15.17.

46. Cf. G. Voss, *Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen* (Paris: Desclée de Bouwer, 1965), p. 151; G. Lohfink, 'Christologie und Geschichtsbild in Apg 3,19-21', *BZ* 13 (1969), pp. 223-41, esp. 230f.; A. Weiser, *Die Apostelgeschichte. Kapitel 1-12* (ÖTK 5/1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981), p. 118; G. Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas* (THKNT, 5; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983), p. 129; R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg 1-12)* (EKKNT, 5/1; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1986), p. 156.

47. Cf. E. Grässer, 'Ta peri tēs basileias (Apg 1,3; 19,8)', in *A cause de l'Évangile* (FS J. Dupont; LD, 123; Paris: Cerf, 1985), pp. 709-25, esp. 722; M. Wolter, '"Reich Gottes" bei Lukas', *NTS* 41 (1995), pp. 541-63, esp. 550f.

(καίροι ἀναψύξεως – v. 20)⁴⁸ but are temporally the times between the first and the second Parousia, as Franz Overbeck has already suggested,⁴⁹ and, with regard to the contents, they are the times of the fulfilment of every prophecy made in the scriptures – beginning with Jesus' work (cf. Lk. 4.18f.) and ending with the earthly restoration of the kingdom of God. Actually, the expression 'restoration of all' is not correct because it shortens the Petrine statement. Peter is talking about the 'restoration of all (prophecies) that God announced long ago through his holy prophets'. The Lucan Peter uses the term χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως (and so on) and not, for example, the expression 'fulfilment of every prophecy' because Luke wants the reader to connect Acts 3.20f. with the disciples' question in Acts 1.6: κύριέ εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; In his response to this question Jesus says: 'It is not for you to know the times or periods (χρόνοι ἢ καιροί)' and promises his disciples to be universal witnesses 'in Jerusalem, Samaria and to the end of the world' (v. 8). This expression does not mean the capital Rome, nor does it refer the disciples to an indefinite time. According to Van Unnik, it is an expression for the extreme border of the world, alluding to Isa. 52.10 (cf. Isa. 48.20; 49.6; 62.11).⁵⁰ Wolter shows that in this way the early Jewish kingdom expectation is reversed: the universality of the kingdom of God, says Wolter, evokes a centrifugal process which leads away from Jerusalem because of the kingdom's attachment to Jesus Christ. This is the characteristic difference to the centripetal structure of the early Jewish *basileia*-concept, which is orientated to Jerusalem.⁵¹ So, before the kingdom of God is restored, the witnesses have to preach. This preaching, as a preaching of repentance to bring forgiveness of sins to all the Gentiles (μετάνοια εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), has, according to Lk. 24.46f., been foretold in the Scriptures (οὕτως γέγραπται); so it has to be fulfilled (δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα – Lk. 24.44). This interpretation is supported by the observation that the word πάντων occurs in Acts 3.21 and πάντα in Lk. 24.44. Indeed, the only prophecy which is not verified yet is the call to repentance in Lk. 24.44-47. Before the kingdom can be restored, the witnesses have to preach until the end of the world (ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς – Acts 1.6-8). According to Lk. 24.47, it is foretold in the Scriptures; and now it is going to be verified.

The disciples, especially Peter, fulfil Jesus' order and, at the same time, the Scriptures or the divine plan, when they become witnesses in Jerusalem (Lk. 24.47; Acts 1.8; cf. Acts 1.20c-22) and until the end of the world (Acts 1.8) or, as it is said in Lk. 24.47, before every nation. Only in this way the kingdom of God

48. Cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament* (London: Kegan Paul, 1901), p. 197 and others.

49. F. Overbeck, *Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 4th edn, 1870), p. 55; D. Hamm, 'Acts 3.12-26. Peter's Speech and the Healing of the Man Born Lame', *PRSt* 11 (1984), pp. 199-217, esp. 211.

50. W. C. van Unnik, 'Der Ausdruck ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (Apostelgeschichte I 8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund', in *idem, Sparsa Collecta I* (NovTSup, 29; Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 386-401, esp. 400.

51. Wolter, '“Reich Gottes” bei Lukas', p. 558.

can be restored on earth and all prophecies of the Scriptures are fulfilled. When this happens the times of refreshment are present to Jesus' disciples. The χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων are the times of restoration of the kingdom of God, and therein the fulfilment of every salvation prophecy.

The function of the following quotation is to show exegetically the necessity of the call of repentance. The quotation proves and verifies that Peter's call of repentance was prophesied by God's prophets from the beginning (ἀπ' αἰῶνος). So it is to be fulfilled by Jesus' disciples.

There is no doubt that it is a LXX quotation. There are two main differences between Acts 3.22 and Deut. 18.15-19 / Lev. 23.29: (1) In the clause 'You must listen to whatever he tells to you', the word 'you' has been added; and (2) the passage Deut. 18.16-18 is omitted. The added sentence in v. 23 reflects Deut. 18.19, and so only the two words 'to you' (πρός ὑμᾶς) are left. These two words are added, because the quotation should be adapted to its new context: the 'prophet like Moses' spoke 'to you', that is, he spoke to Peter's listeners. The omitted passage Deut. 18.16-18 does not fit in the Lukan context and would lead the reader astray. So the adaption is also the reason for the omission.

This shows that the differences are needed to adapt the quotation to its new context. There is no doubt that the 'prophet like Moses' is the earthly Jesus. So we find here, as in Acts 2.22ff., an internal, homodiegetic and repetitive analepsis,⁵² which refers the reader to Jesus' earthly life, portrayed in the Gospel of Luke. Luke 4.24 shows that Jesus could be described as a prophet, a man who liberates people.

The command to listen to Jesus is a verbal allusion to the story of Jesus' transfiguration. In Lk. 9.35 the heavenly voice requires them to listen to the Son of God, Jesus. Peter himself is the example for this listener. He becomes a new disciple of Jesus by listening to the address of the resurrected Jesus in Luke 24 (cf. Lk. 24.41a and Lk. 24.52f.). The coherence with the transfiguration story shows the fulfilment of the Scripture quoted in Acts 3.22 (cf. Lk. 10.24).

The following verse (v. 23) has important differences to its model. The subordinate clause, 'and the man who does not listen to what the prophet will speak in my name' was changed into 'it will be that every soul who does not listen to that prophet'. The introduction 'it will be' is just the same as it is in Peter's Pentecost speech. In that speech both the first and the last sentence of the Joel quotation are introduced with this word (Acts 2.17, 21). Peter formulates in Acts 3.23 the other side of the medal of Acts 2.21, and 'it will be' is added in Acts 3.23 to show this connection to Acts 2.21. The phrase 'every soul' (πάντα ψυχή) is taken over because of Lev. 23.29; the final words of v. 23 also come from this Old Testament passage. By these means Peter leads up to the new Scripture passage, so that

52. These categories presented by G. Genette, *Die Erzählung* (München: Fink, 1994), pp. 33f. are very helpful to me. For example, according to Genette is the analepsis in Acts 2.22ff. internal, homodiegetic and repetitive: 'internal' – because it relates to events, which are inside the temporal frame of Luke-Acts, 'homodiegetic' – because it concerns the plot of the basis narrative, 'repetitive' – because the narrative follows in this analepsis its own traces (*Erzählung*, p. 36).

the reader might not recognize it as a new Scripture passage. The phrase 'of that prophet' increases this impression: it creates a relation to the beginning of the quotation, so that the reader thinks it is a single homogeneous quotation – similar to Lk. 10.27.

Formally there is a change from analepsis (Acts 2.22) to prolepsis (Acts 2.23) inside the quotation, both in view of Peter's fictitious listener and in view of the reader of Luke-Acts. Everyone who acknowledges the truth of the analepsis also accepts the prolepsis as true.⁵³

What is foretold in v. 23? Wasserberg complains that many commentators say nothing about the sharpness of this statement.⁵⁴ I suggest the statement is understandable only in the view of the implied author. He suffers because most Jews do not repent and do not believe in Jesus, although he is – in his opinion – foretold by the Jewish Scriptures. As long as the kingdom of God is only a heavenly phenomenon (and it is so since Jesus' exaltation and will remain so until Parousia), it is possible to repent while still alive. After death it is not possible to repent. But in the view of Luke, the third generation after Jesus' death lives already. So the quotation in Acts 3.23 explains that all those Jews who died without repentance and faith in Jesus (cf. Lk. 23.39-43) are lost.⁵⁵ In other words, in Acts 3.23 the opinion is expressed that those who believe in Jesus are not lost. The quotation in Acts 3.23 has the function of stabilizing the Christian community; and there is nothing said about a possible destruction of Jews on earth.

Verse 24 is very closely linked to the quotation in vv. 22f. So v. 24 has an important significance for the function of the quotation. The quotation of the Pentateuch passage in vv. 22f. and the reference to 'all the prophets from Samuel and those after him' tries to verify the estimated assertion of v. 21. So we see that the prophet Moses is ranked among the prophets from the beginning (v. 21). The content is the necessity to listen to Jesus. Peter's Scripture witnesses are 'rhetorically nearly overwhelming'⁵⁶ to his Jewish listeners.

There is no question that Jesus is the 'Moses redivivus'. So the verb 'to raise up' (ἀναστρέφει – v. 22) primarily stands for Jesus' earthly work. But Jesus is resurrected both in the view of Peter and in the view of the reader. Therefore the verb alludes at the same time to Jesus' resurrection. 'These days' – an expression which alludes to Peter's Pentecost speech (Acts 2.17) – are identical to the times of restoration of all (v. 21); and this is – as we already have seen – the time between the first and the second Parousia, which includes the times of the earthly Jesus (cf. Lk. 5.32; 13.3.5; 15.7.10; 16.30), Peter's times (cf. Acts 2.38; 3.13 etc.), the

53. In Lk. 4.18, 19 and in Acts 1.16-22 we find the same phenomenon: A fulfilled prophecy is connected with a prophecy which is to be fulfilled (cf. Acts 13.32-41).

54. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, p. 227 n. 35.

55. The importance of the point of view of the implied author and reader shows M. Wolter, 'Israels Zukunft und Parusieverzögerung bei Lukas', in M. Evang *et al.*, *Eschatologie und Schöpfung* (FS E. Gräßer, BZNW, 89; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 405-26, esp. 420f.

56. Cf. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte*, p. 228.

narrator's times, and the following times. Intended is the call to repentance to Israel and the Gentiles as the times of fulfilment of the Scripture prophecies. The second part of the quoted Scripture passage (v. 23) establishes the necessity of the call to repentance in a negative way (cf. Lk. 24.47): the one that does not repent shall never gain eternal life.

The 'Prophet like Moses' – II (Acts 7.37)

In Stephen's speech in Acts 7, Moses is characterized digressively (vv. 35-38). By using the quotation of Deut. 18.15, which is known by the reader since Acts 3.22, Stephen describes Moses as chosen like Jesus. Stephen uses nearly exactly the same words as Peter in Acts 3.22. So we see that there is a continuity between Peter and Stephen, even if the quotation has a different function. And because of Acts 3.22 the reader knows at once that the 'prophet like me' is Jesus.

In Acts 7.37 Stephen uses the quotation from Deut. 18.15 to show that Moses and Jesus share the same fate. Both men were denied by the Israelites or the Jews. The use of the Scripture is typological. Moses normally is considered as very important for the Jewish people. They are convinced that they follow God's commandments, which were given to them by Moses. So they belong to Moses and to the God who was preached by him. But Stephen tells his Jewish audience the opposite. Moses is the type of man who is denied by his own people.

The denying of God's will by Israel is the subject of Stephen's speech. In Stephen's speech the denial of Jesus by Israel becomes clear again and again via the depiction of the denial of Moses by the people. Jesus is the 'prophet like Moses', because the Jews go against him. This becomes equally clear through the characterization of Moses as 'ruler and liberator' (Acts 7.35; cf. Acts 5.31: Jesus as 'Leader and Saviour'), and through the motives of the lack of understanding (Acts 7.25), that is also found with regard to Jesus (Lk. 2.50; 18.34), and of the working of 'wonders and signs' (Acts 7.36; cf. Acts 2.22 concerning Jesus). Certainly Moses' 'wonders and signs' are only mentioned here in order to explain the analogy with Jesus. After all, Moses is said to have been sent by God, just as Jesus was (Acts 7.35; cf. Lk. 4.43; Acts 3.26 about Jesus).

And it is not just by chance that the 'words of life' that Moses received in order to pass on to the Israelites are mentioned in the following verse. This term reminds us intratextually of the Torah commandments quoted in Lk. 10.25-37 and Lk. 18.18-27, which are both times cited in connection with the question 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' Principally, the earthly Jesus did not deny the function of the Torah Commandments as guides to life (Lk. 10.28).

This citation from Acts 7.37 attracts attention more than any of the other citations up to now in Luke-Acts because it does not fit in chronologically with the described course of the story – previously it was cited from Exodus 3 (Acts 7.32-34), afterwards it was cited from Exodus 32 (Acts 7.40). It also does not illustrate a certain event, but it illustrates the character of Moses and enables the reader to create an analogy between Moses and Jesus. The citation in Acts 3.22f., on the other hand, characterizes Jesus' character.

In v. 39 Stephen blames the Israelites for exactly that for which he was blamed: disobedience towards Moses. Through this connection, Moessner indicated the character of a prophet in the image of Jesus.⁵⁷ In addition, he tried to work out, using the term 'prophet like Moses' (Acts 3.22; 7.37; cf. Deut. 18.15), the diegetical parallels between Moses and Jesus which can be seen in Luke's Gospel.⁵⁸ It is quite possible that the narrator actually took over one or two traits of Moses in his image of Jesus.

Conclusion

A considerable difference can be seen between the citations from Deuteronomy which Luke took over from tradition (Mk or Q), and the two citations which he himself offers (see the list in the Introduction). In Lk. 4.8 (προσκυνήσεις), 4.12 (οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις), 10.27 (ἀγαπήσεις) and 18.20 (μὴ μοι χεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα ...), the citations are exclusively in the imperative or prohibitive, and also in Lk. 20.28 (ἵνα λάβῃ ...) a commandment is mentioned which is to be observed. Even in Lk. 4.4 the citation is used as a commandment. The usage of Deut. 18.15(-20) in Acts 3.22 is very different. Starting from Lk. 24.44, the use of Deuteronomy in Luke-Acts becomes prophetic and not normative, that is the citation of Deut. 18.15(-20) serves to refer prophetically to Jesus. This method of usage can be traced back to the words of Jesus in Lk. 18.31-33 and 24.44-47 (cf. also Lk. 24.6f.). The citation from Deut. 18.15 in Acts 3.22 forms for Peter the basis for the necessity of the conversion sermon, and it thereby verifies a part of the general thesis of Lk. 24.44: Peter's conversion sermon is also predicted from the beginning in the book of Deuteronomy and is therefore to be performed by Christians. Different again is the manner of use of Deut. 18.15 in Acts 7.37. Here, the same verse is cited as in Acts 3.22, but the citation should illustrate the thesis that Jesus had the same fate as Moses. Stephen proves that the Israelites already did not believe Moses. The starting point here is the proverb from Lk. 4.24, that no prophet is respected in his home town.

Luke takes over many normative passages, but makes clear in Acts 3.22 and 7.37, that also in the book of Deuteronomy Jesus is referred to as the Christ in a prophetic way, just as the story of the rejection of the prophets can be used as an illustration of the history of Jesus.

57. D. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), pp. 48–50. Moessner mentions the call vision (Lk. 3.21f.; 4.18f.; Acts 10.38; cf. Exod. 24.9-14; Numbers 13; Deut. 1.22-33; 2 Kgs 2.1-18; 9.1-13), and the special role of the Holy Spirit in the work of the prophet (Luke 3.16; 4.1, 14, 18; cf. 1 Kings 19.16; Isa. 61.1; CD 6.1; 2.12; 1QM 11.7, and also 1 En. 49.3; Pss. Sol. 17.42; 18.8; T. Levi 18.2-14; T. Jud. 24.2f.).

58. Moessner, *Banquet*, pp. 60–70.

Chapter 5

DEUTERONOMY IN JOHN'S GOSPEL

Michael Labahn

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the book of Deuteronomy is frequently used in Ancient Judaism. Basic identity-shaping texts and ideas were taken over from that book and were popular in ancient Jewish texts. It claims to have been written by Moses, the law giver, thus presenting itself as the overall basic document of Judaism.¹ That is why ancient Jewish writings allude to Deuteronomic conceptions, ideas and motifs without necessarily referring back to the book of Deuteronomy as a written source. The content of Deuteronomy was present in the 'public memory',² for instance, in mentioning Moses or the Law (given by Moses) or in praying the *Shema*:³

To say that the figure of Moses towers over Judaism of the Second Temple period, including that of the Qumran covenanters, is merely a truism. The pervasive influence of this historic figure in the religion and literature of Israel is nearly everywhere apparent.⁴

So Moses, 'his' Law and Deuteronomy have played a significant role in creatively shaping Jewish identity⁵ and this must be borne in mind when we analyse specific Johannine texts. Not every parallel which seems to stem from Deuteronomy refers directly back to the book but may have its roots in the history of reception of the book in the public memory.

1. S. Dean McBride, Jr, 'Deuteronomium', *TRE* 8 (1981), pp. 530–43 (531).

2. For the concept of cultural memory in general, cf. J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992); an introduction is given in J. Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Cultural Memory of the Present; Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

3. For the 'fundamental' rôle of the *Shema*, see E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM/Philadelphia: TPI, 1992), pp. 195–96.

4. J. E. Bowley, 'Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed', in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 159–81 (159); to Moses as law giver and other characterizations of his presence in Jewish Second Temple narrative, see S. Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques* (JSNTSup, 229; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 96–129.

5. Cf. for Qumran: Bowley, 'Moses', pp. 164–66, 176–80, 181.

It is also a well-known fact that the Old Testament is a major source for the Gospel of John's theology and Christology.⁶ The still unpublished register (for *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, vol. I/2) to the Old Testament parallels and references in John⁷ counts about 128 entries for Deuteronomy. These include both marked and unmarked quotations, allusions, echoes, motifs and texts illustrating the biblical background, such as Jewish customs and feasts.⁸ This shows that Deuteronomy is one of the most important sources for the Gospel of John, even though there are relatively few explicit quotations.⁹ This would appear to imply that the book was well-known to the Gospel's intended readers,¹⁰ although not every passage listed in *Vetus Testamentum in Novo* is a reception of a specific written text of Deuteronomy.

Although Old Testament quotations are frequently used as a criterion for source hypotheses,¹¹ this chapter deals with the entire Johannine text and the use of the Old Testament by its author. It is not denied that some of the material may stem from previous tradition, either written or oral, but there is not space to discuss the prehistory of the material in detail here.

6. For example, U. Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (THK, 4; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 3rd edn, 2004), p. 16, calls the Old Testament a 'Fundament' of Johannine Gospel writing. J. M. Lieu, 'Narrative Analysis and Scripture in John', in S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (Essays in Honour of J. L. North; JSNTSup, 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 144–63 (144), works out, perhaps a little too definitely, that the Old Testament 'makes the Gospel "work"'. For a more complete list of literature dealing with John's use of Scripture, see K. Scholtissek, '"Die unauflösbare Schrift" (Joh 10,35). Zur Auslegung und Theologie der Schrift Israels im Johannesevangelium', in T. Söding (ed.), *Das Johannesevangelium – Mitte oder Rand des Kanons? Neue Standortbestimmungen* (QD, 203; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 2003), pp. 146–77 (149–50 n. 15).

7. H. Hübner, A. Labahn, and M. Labahn, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo. Vol. I/2: Evangelium secundum Iohannem* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

8. For an exhaustive list of categories to classify the intertextual use of Old Testament pre-texts in John, see H.-J. Klauck, 'Geschrieben, erfüllt, vollendet. Die Schriftzitate in der Johannespassion', in M. Labahn, K. Scholtissek and A. Strotmann (eds), *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium* (FS J. Beutler; Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), pp. 140–57 (143–44).

9. Other books dealing with the Old Testament background of John or the textual sources show a quite different picture. The index of A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel. A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), p. 381, counts only six (!) entries; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testaments Quotations in the Fourth Gospel. Studies in Textual Form* (CBET, 15; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), refers to 15 different instances, only two are discussed as pre-texts to the Johannine Gospel (however, he is mainly concerned with the explicit quotations of John); and G. Reim, *Jochanan. Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995), pp. 108–9, claims one quotation and a number of allusions.

10. From the seven criteria to test possible echoes, established by R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), pp. 29–32, the criterion of availability and recurrence matches the presence of possible references to Deuteronomy.

11. Cf. the classical example of A. Faure, 'Die alttestamentlichen Zitate im 4. Evangelium und die Quellenscheidungshypothesen', *ZNW* 21 (1922), pp. 99–121; opposed by F. Smend, 'Die alttestamentlichen Zitate als Ausgangspunkt der Quellenscheidung im 4. Evangelium', *ZNW* 24 (1925), pp. 147–50; more recently M.-É. Boismard /A. Lamouille, *Synopse des quatre évangiles en français. Tome III. L'évangile de Jean* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1977), pp. 62–3.

Studies in intertextuality have shown that the relationship between texts need not be confined to 'authorial intention' or even chronological priority. Readers who know Deuteronomy well may see things that other readers do not see, thereby starting their own intertextual 'play' and developing their own intertextual readings.¹² But the focus of this chapter will be on those intertextual relationships where the Johannine text *intentionally* refers back to the book of Deuteronomy by quoting or alluding to it. In other words, the focus is on those signs/marks¹³ that make such references explicit to the intended readers. We should also bear in mind that the relationship of texts and ideas within a text (intra-textuality) may sometimes explain some of the motifs that might otherwise be explained as the influence of an extra-textual 'source'.¹⁴

Quotations

Jn 8.17 and Deut. 19.15

The search for marked quotations of Deuteronomy in John is normally judged to be unsuccessful.¹⁵ However, there is one text that must at least be considered as a quotation because of its introductory formula. Jn 8.17 begins with 'in your law it is written that', which is an expanded but well-known New Testament quotation formula (cf. Lk. 2.23; 10.26-27; 1 Cor. 9.9; 14.21).¹⁶ There are some parallels to this formula in John (1.45: 'about whom Moses and the prophets wrote'; 6.45: 'it is written in the prophets' and 2.17: 'his disciples remembered that it was written'; cf. 5.46; 6.31).¹⁷ The parallels indicate that the following passage in Jn 8.17 is marked to the intended reader as a quotation from the (Jewish) Law.¹⁸ Based on Lk. 2.23, Dietrich Rusam considers that such quotation formulae do not

12. See R. Allen, *Intertextuality* (New Critical Idiom; London: Routledge, 2000) and for its application to biblical studies, S. Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament', in S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (Essays in honour of J. L. North; JSNTSup, 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 14-41; *idem*, 'Intertextuality and Historical Approaches to the Use of Scripture in the New Testament', *Verbum et Ecclesia* 26 (2005), pp. 447-58.

13. Still a very valuable instrument for analysing the marking of a reference is J. Helbig, *Intertextualität und Markierung. Untersuchungen zur Systematik und Funktion der Signalisierung von Intertextualität* (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, III/141; Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1996).

14. Cf. M. Labahn, "'Verlassen" oder "Vollendet". Ps 22 in der johannespassion zwischen Intratextualität und Intertextualität', in: D. Sänger (ed.), *Ps 22 und die Passionsgeschichten der Evangelien* (BThSt, 88; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2007).

15. Cf. M. Hengel, 'Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese', *JBTh* 4 (1989), p. 276 n. 95; Schnelle, *Johannes*, p. 16; Scholtissek, "'Die unauf lösbare Schrift" (Joh 10,35)', p. 159.

16. This formula is not discussed or mentioned in B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture. The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John* (SBLDS, 133; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. xiii-xiv.

17. See C. A. Evans, 'On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel', *BZ NF* 26 (1982), pp. 79-83; Hengel, 'Schriftauslegung', pp. 276ff.

18. That means that the following passage is not intended as 'proverbial' (as Reim, *Jochanan*, p. 109 assumes) but as belonging to the Law, that means to Scripture.

necessarily signal a 'correct' quotation, aiming at verbal identity with a specific text, but may include a creative reception of the text.¹⁹ Therefore, it is misleading to exclude a possible quotation purely on the basis of insufficient verbal identity.²⁰

By referring to the law as 'your Law' the narrator addresses Jesus' opponents within the text but develops a distance between Jesus and the Law. The Law used without the christological hermeneutic developed by the fourth evangelist is a foreign element to Jesus and owned by his opponents.²¹ But even that text ironically supports the argument of the narrator's hero. However, 'searching the Scriptures' does not help to find a text with the same wording as Jn 8.17, 'the testimony of two witnesses is valid' (δύο ἀνθρώπων ἡ μαρτυρία ἀληθὴς ἐστίν). Although marked as a quotation, Jn 8.17b is formed by the narrative shape and the language of the Fourth Gospel. The theme of witnessing for Jesus²² is already present in John 5 (see later), so that 8.17 forms a kind of repetition of the previous discussion and refers back to 5.31–47. Furthermore, ἀληθής ('true, valid')²³ is an important Johannine theme and is frequently combined with μαρτυρία (5.31, 32; 8.13, 14, 17; 21.24). Thus, in 8.17 two different hermeneutical principles overlap: (1) the quotation formula refers to *intertextuality* marked by the text; and (2) Johannine language and motifs refer to other passages within the text. The latter does not foster an exclusively intra-textual explanation of the text since it is marked as a quotation, but it makes the reader aware that there is some change in wording in regard to any possible pre-text.²⁴

The Old Testament passages that are closest to Jn 8.17 are Deut. 19.15 and Deut. 17.15. Num. 35.30 ('and one witness shall not testify against a soul that he should die') is considered possible by Beutler but this seems unlikely since it does not explicitly speak of two witnesses.²⁵

Deut. 19.15: 'by the mouth of two witnesses, or by the mouth of three witnesses, every word shall be established;'

Deut. 17.6: 'he shall die on the testimony of two or three witnesses'

19. D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas* (BZNW, 112; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 53–4.

20. Pace, R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium II. Kommentar zu Kap. 5–12* (HTKNT, IV/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1971), p. 246 n. 3.

21. M. Müller, 'Schriftbeweis oder Vollendung? Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament', in K.-M. Bull / E. Reinmuth (eds), *Bekenntnis und Erinnerung* (FS H.-F. Weiss; Rostocker Theologische Studien, 16; Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004), pp. 151–71, paraphrases 8.17 as 'the law, as you read it' ('das Gesetz, so wie ihr es lest').

22. Still a very worthy contribution is J. Beutler, *Martyria: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Zeugnisthema bei Johannes* (Frankfurter theologische Studien, 10; Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1972).

23. Fourteen times in John compared to only one record in Mark and Matthew (Mk 12.14 par. Mt. 22.16).

24. Cf. Beutler, *Martyria*, p. 270.

25. On Num. 35.30 as a possible pre-text, see J. Beutler, 'Der Gebrauch von "Schrift" im Johannesevangelium', in J. Beutler, *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften* (SBAB, 25; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), pp. 295–315 (304).

As Maarten Menken²⁶ has pointed out, Deut. 17.6 (like Num. 35.30) focuses on the death penalty, whereas Deut. 19.15 and Jn 8.17 reflect more generally the task of the witnesses.²⁷ Since the Johannine Gospel exercises some freedom in quoting texts, and the fact that the Greek translation of the Hebrew text is fairly literal, one cannot be certain as to the textual form of the cited text.²⁸ Given that the LXX is more general than the MT by speaking of ‘every case’ (πᾶν ῥῆμα), the Greek background is slightly more probable. Bearing in mind that the Johannine narrator quoted Old Testament texts in a fairly free way,²⁹ it is not unreasonable to call Jn 8.17 a Johannine-style quotation of Deut. 19.15.

With regard to Johannine christological reflection, the two different witnesses of the father and of Jesus come together in the revelation and voice of Jesus as stated in v. 19,³⁰ indicating that Jesus’ opponent does not share the Johannine ‘universe of discourse’ as a common hermeneutical ground.³¹ Use of Scripture and Scripture-based argumentation is part of the christological premises of the Johannine hermeneutic, forming a creative communication with its pre-texts.

True Witness (Jn 5.31-34; 8.16-17 and Deut. 17.6; 19.15; Num. 35.30)

As mentioned above, the quotation of Jn 8.17 is part of the Johannine witness motif that is also present in Jn 5.31-34. Both texts are connected because they share the issue of multiple witnesses. In contrast to 8.17, the passage in John 5 alludes even more abundantly to an Old Testament background that seems to include Num. 35.30 and Deut. 17.6; 19.15. Jn 5.31 (‘If I testify about myself, my testimony is not true’) takes up Num. 35.30 in so far as ‘one witness shall not testify against a soul’. However, there is more to it for there is a second witness (v. 32: the one who sent his son³²) and a third (vv. 34-36: John the Baptist in relation to Jesus’ own works).

In contrast to Jn 8.17, the tendency of John 5 is less general. Jn 5.19ff. challenges the decision of a death penalty by Jesus’ Jewish opponents in 5.16-18, so that Jesus’ argument is more in accordance with the juridical problem of Num. 35.30 and Deut. 17.6. In alluding to the Old Testament, the Johannine Jesus

26. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, p. 16: ‘The legal content of Deut. 19:15 has evidently been rephrased in Johannine language.’

27. Cf. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS, 39; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), p. 315, on Deut. 19.15: ‘V. 15b makes a general rule out of the regulation concerning minimum witnesses at 17.6 for capital offences.’

28. However, there are some slight differences in LXX to MT, cf. Wevers, *Notes*, p. 315.

29. See John 7.42 and the remarks of Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 16–17, and *passim*.

30. See also L. Schenke, *Johannes: Kommentar* (Kommentare zu den Evangelien; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998), p. 166.

31. On the term ‘universe of discourse’ see M. Labahn, ‘Die παρρησία des Gottessohnes im Johannesevangelium. Theologische Hermeneutik und philosophisches Selbstverständnis’, in J. Frey and U. Schnelle (eds), *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums. Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgehistorischer Perspektive* (WUNT, 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 321–63 (330–31).

32. See M. Asiedu-Pepurah, *Johannine Sabbath Conflicts as Juridical Controversy* (WUNT, 2/132; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 98–9; Schnelle, *Johannes*, p. 125. The issue is further elaborated in Jn 5.37–40 taking the father as an additional witness for the sent one.

underscores that his witness against the death charge is true with regard to the Law.

The Johannine intertextual play between alluding, quoting and actualizing Old Testament pre-texts in Jn 5.31-34 and 8.16-17 is faithful and intended. Here, the narrator respects the different backgrounds of his pre-texts, in so far as he distinguishes between a concrete and a more general issue in which the number of witnesses is discussed. He uses the technique of allusion when more than one pre-text could be used and he quotes with regard to a specific pre-text. In both cases he adjusts the pre-text to his narrative and argumentative background even by seriously rephrasing the wording of his pre-text (cf. Deut. 19.15).

Quotation/Allusion

Jn 8.54 and Deut. 6.4

In his defence before his Jewish opponents (Jn 8.54), the Johannine Jesus identifies his father as the one his opponents call their god: 'It is my Father who glorifies me, he of whom you say, "He is our God"' (θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν). This last phrase appears to allude to Deut. 6.4, 'Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord' (κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν). Yet the text is not introduced as a quotation from Scripture but as a quotation/allusion from a popular religious claim by Jesus' opponents. That might be the reason why it is not generally listed as a quotation of Deut. 6.4. The claim of Jesus' opponents might originate from Scripture but this is not made explicit by the narrator and therefore it is not used within the argumentation of the Johannine characters. For sure, Deut. 6.4 is not the only possible Old Testament parallel containing the central claim that God is Israel's God.³³ The formulation 'of whom you say' carries a fundamental undertone that refers to a basic marker of Jesus' opponents' religious identity. Of course, the *Shema Israel* presents such a text, taken from Deut. 6.4-5 and belonging to the daily Jewish prayer.

I think the Johannine narrator presents Jesus as referring to the basic tradition of his Jewish opponents, thus presupposing that it will strike a chord with his intended readers. However, in doing this, I wonder if the narrator does not open an intertextual window back to Scripture,³⁴ bearing in mind that Moses and Scripture speak about Jesus (cf. 5.45-47 with reference to God as Jesus' father). However, without a quotation formula, we can only guess at such a relationship and scholarly analysis itself becomes part of the open world of textual relationship that forms intertextuality.

33. See further texts mentioned by Hübner, Labahn, Labahn, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*. Vol. I,2 to Jn 8.54: your [singular] God: Exod. 20.2; Deut 5.6; 6.5.

34. John 8.41 ('we have one father, God himself') in the context of v. 54 also reflects the monotheism formula from Deut 6.4; cf. K. Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben. Die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS, 21; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), p. 317.

Jn 5.44 and Deut. 6.4

Within the polemical monologue, Jn 5.19–47, in which Jesus tries to defend his healing on the Sabbath, Jesus exhorts his opponents not to ‘seek the glory that comes from the one who alone is God (τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ)’³⁵ (v. 44). It is clear that this is closer to a number of Hellenistic Jewish texts which speak of the ‘only God/Lord’ or ‘God/Lord alone’³⁶ but Beutler thinks it is significant that it is the lack of love for God that urges people to seek their own glory which may refer to Deut 6.4.³⁷ Additionally, we may note that in advance of an intentional reference to Deuteronomy: (1) in the immediate context, Moses is said to have written about Jesus (5.46); and (2) there are many other references to Deuteronomy in ch. 5 (e.g., 5.5, 21, 31–34, 37; see also 5.20, 22–23, 39–40, 42, 43).³⁸ However, it is possible that we have an influence or echo of Deut. 6.4 as held in the public memory. As Beasley-Murray states, ‘“The only God” reflects the Jewish confession of faith, rooted in the *Shema* in Deut. 6.4’.³⁹

Regarding the importance of the *Shema Israel* and taking into account the character of the Johannine references, it is not possible to gain any certainty that John refers intentionally to Deut. 6.4 as a pre-text. There are no reliable markers in the Johannine text, but the criterion of availability and the criterion of recurrence allow the possibility of such a reference. Theologically, Jn 5.44 is of importance because it shows that the oneness of God from Deut. 6.4 is a basic axiom also within Johannine christological thinking.⁴⁰ However, within Johannine hermeneutics the one and only God is one who only can be met in his only son (Jn 1.18) – and both are one (Jn 10.30).

Allusions

I define references to be allusions if they are not explicitly marked like quotations by some kind of quotation formula or by a recognizable *verbal identity*. An allusion is an intended, but more unspecific reference to a pre-text indicated by some verbal and thematic overlaps. According to Martin Hengel, allusions are the main

35. In some – text-critically considered – very good manuscripts, θεοῦ is missing (P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ B *et al.*); the reading without ‘God’ is also the most difficult one. However, the omission could easily be explained as misreading by haplography, see G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC, 36; Waco, TX, 1987), p. 70; F. J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (Sacra Pagina, 4, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 192.

36. See *Apoc. Mos.* 13.5; *T. Jos.* 6.5; 8.5; *Jos. Asen.* 13.1; *Apoc. Sedr.* 8.10; 15.1; *Let. Aris.* 132, 139; *Sib. Or.* III 629; V 285. Such a notion of God is also common to authors in antiquity: E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 4th edn, 1956), p. 245. Norden hints at Aelius Aristides.

37. J. Beutler, ‘Das Hauptgebot im Johannesevangelium’, in Beutler, *Studien*, pp. 107–20 (113).

38. Already, the charge against Jesus, that he makes himself equal to God (5.18), violates the confession of the one God in Deut 6.4; cf., e.g., J. Becker, *Johanneisches Christentum. Seine Geschichte und Theologie im Überblick* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 174–75.

39. Beasley-Murray, *John*, p. 70.

40. Cf. T. Söding, ‘“Ich und der Vater sind eins” (Joh 10,30). Die johanneische Christologie vor dem Anspruch des Hauptgebotes (Dtn 6,4f)’, *ZNW* 93 (2002), pp. 177–99.

type of references to the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel.⁴¹ The following includes a sample of some of the more important examples.

Jn 5.5 (Deut. 2.14)

In John 5, Jesus meets a paralytic man at a miraculous healing pool (v. 7 – vv. 3b–4 are a text-critically secondary explanation) near the Sheep Gate (v. 2) on a Sabbath day (v. 9).⁴² Because the man cannot move into the pool himself, he has never had a chance to be healed (v. 7). The narrator refers to the length of time the man has been lying at the pool: 'A man was there who had been ill for thirty-eight years.' A note on the length of a person's illness is often used as a signal for the difficulty facing the miracle-worker.⁴³ Jesus is able to heal where the power of the pool and of humankind has come to an end after 38 years.⁴⁴

However, in mentioning such a specific number, it seems probable that the narrator has another purpose, namely to allude to Deut. 2.14 ('And the days in which we travelled from Kadesh-barnea until we crossed the Wadi Zered was thirty-eight years').⁴⁵ Israel's 38 years long stay in the wilderness is interpreted as a punishment for its grumbling against YHWH (Numbers 14; cf. v. 29). Therefore, Hengel describes the Johannine use of that span of time as 'Typos des Unglaubens an Christus' (in accordance with Greek Church Fathers).⁴⁶

A close look at the paralytic man as a narrative character within the Johannine story may help to gain some insights. It is debated as to whether the paralytic is a positive or a negative character within the story,⁴⁷ and Jn 5.14 is crucial in this regard. Jesus addresses the man who was previously unable to say anything about

41. Hengel, 'Schriftauslegung', p. 282.

42. For details of analysis, see M. Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender. Untersuchungen zu einer Geschichte der johanneischen Tradition anhand ihrer Wundergeschichten* (BZNW, 98; Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1999), pp. 213–64.

43. Cf. G. Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (SNT, 8; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 6th edn, 1990), p. 61; see also I. Broer, 'Die Heilung des Gelähmten am Teich Bethesda (Joh 5,1-9a) und ihre Nachgeschichte im vierten Evangelium (Joh 5,9b-16)', in J. Pichler and C. Heil (eds), *Heilungen und Wunder. Theologische, historische und medizinische Zugänge* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), pp. 143–61 (154–5) who also considers a possible influence of deut. 2.14.

44. Schnelle, *Johannes*, p. 115.

45. See P. Dschulnigg, *Jesus Begegnen. Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium* (Theologie, 30; Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2000), p. 148; K. Grayston, *The Gospel of John* (Narrative Commentaries; Philadelphia: TPI, 1990), p. 48; B. Schwank, *Evangelium nach Johannes* (St Ottilien: EOS, 1996), p. 177; H. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT, 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), p. 299; C. Welck, *Erzählte Zeichen. Die Wundergeschichten des Johannesevangeliums literarisch untersucht. Mit einem Ausblick auf Joh 21* (WUNT, II/69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), pp. 155–56.

46. Hengel, 'Schriftauslegung', p. 286.

47. Cf. most recently K. Scholtissek, 'Mündiger Glaube. Zur Architektur und Pragmatik johanneischer Begegnungsgeschichten: Joh 5 und Joh 9', in D. Sänger, U. Mell (eds), *Paulus und Johannes. Exegetische Studien zur paulinischen und johanneischen Theologie und Literatur* (WUNT, I/198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 75–105, who describes the 'mainstream', pp. 80–81. Scholtissek himself opts differently: the healed man becomes a kind of proclaimer directing the interest of the Jews on the subject of the miracle off from breaking the Sabbath (p. 88). Scholtissek does not comment on the allusion in Jn 5.5.

his healer (v. 13): 'Do not sin any more, so that nothing worse happens to you.' Within the Gospel text, the sin of the paralytic is not some moral failure, unknown to the readers, that has caused his illness. The sin has to do with the man's relation to Jesus.⁴⁸ After being healed, he does not know Jesus (v. 13) and after being addressed by Jesus he informs Jesus' Jewish opponents (v. 15), who sentence Jesus to death (5.16–18).⁴⁹

From this perspective, we can read the allusion to Deut. 2.14 as a signal that the paralytic man as narrative character is not accepting God's will. The allusion gives an intertextual 'colour' to a man who is himself very sparsely painted by the narrator,⁵⁰ because we hear nothing about his name, home, or anything else. The nature of the allusion does not allow us to say anything about its textual form.

Jn 5.21 (Deut. 32.39)

In Jesus' reply to the reproach in John 5 that he makes himself equal to God (v. 18), he claims that he 'can do nothing on his own, but only what he sees the Father doing; for whatever the Father does, the Son does likewise' (v. 19). Therefore, the addressees of Jesus' speech will see 'greater things' than the miracles (v. 20): 'Indeed, just as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whomever he wishes' (v. 21). The Johannine narration of miracles portrays Jesus as a *spender* of life: He will give eternal life just as his father does.⁵¹ Such a strong claim is also in accordance with the Johannine pre-existence Christology, which considers the *logos* to be the one through whom 'all things came into being' (Jn 1.3; cf. v. 4).

However, the Johannine Jesus not only claims to do the same things as his father does, he also alludes to words which, in the Old Testament, are descriptions of God: 'I kill and I make alive' (Deut. 32.39). Deut. 32.39 is not the only passage within the Old Testament that ascribes the power to give and take life to God⁵² but there are a number of similarities between the two passages: (1) The similar

48. For an understanding of sin in John, see M. Hasitschka, *Befreiung von Sünde nach dem Johannesevangelium: Eine bibeltheologische Untersuchung* (Innsbrucker theologische Studien, 27; Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1989); R. Metzner, *Das Verständnis der Sünde im Johannesevangelium* (WUNT, 1.122; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

49. In contrast to the anonymous man born blind who turns into a positive character in defending, proclaiming and finally worshipping Jesus; cf. M. Labahn, 'Der Weg eines Namenlosen – Vom Hilfflosen zum Vorbild (Joh 9). Ansätze zu einer narrativen Ethik der sozialen Verantwortung im vierten Evangelium', in R. Gebauer and M. Meiser (eds), *Die bleibende Gegenwart des Evangeliums* (FS O. Merk; MThSt, 76; Marburg: Elwert, 2003), pp. 63–80.

50. Cf. R. A. Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (repr.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), pp. 137–38.

51. Cf. Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender*, p. 501, *et passim*; supported by B. Kollmann, 'Wunder IV. Neues Testament', *TRE* 36 (2004), pp. 389–97 (395).

52. Cf. Neh. 9.6, see also 2 Kgs 5.7; Eccl. 7.12; see especially 4 *Macc.* 18.19 a 'recitation' from Deut. 32.39 (cf. D. A. deSilva, 4 *Maccabees* [Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006], pp. 264–65); 4 *Macc.* 18.19 indicates how Deut. 32.39 could be read in ancient Judaism: God killed and gave life back afterwards. Deut. 32.39 focusses on both, the dying of people and bringing them back to life. The last part is at hand in John. Deut. 32.39 is also quoted in Odes 2.39 and reflected in Dan LXX 4.37 [1].

verb: John's ζῶσποιεῖ⁵³ resembles ζῆν ποιήσω of Deut. 32.39; (2) The statement (Jn 5.44) that God is the only God; (3) God as healer; and (4) God as responsible for death (in John 5.21, both God and Jesus give life but in 5.22, it is Jesus alone who judges and hence brings death). In regard to these arguments, it seems likely that Jn 5.21 intentionally alludes to Deut. 32.39, though once again, the text has been rephrased using Johannine vocabulary. With respect to the verb ζῶσποιεῖ, it is plausible that the ζῆν ποιήσω of the Greek version is in mind.⁵⁴

John 5.37 (Deut. 4.12)

For not accepting Jesus as the one sent by God and in whom God is present, the Johannine Jesus counters the Jewish opponents in Jn 5.37 by stating that they have never had an intimate relationship with God: 'You have never heard his voice or seen his form.' The second part of the accusation is an intratextual reference pointing to the close and unique relation between the son and his father in Jn 1.18, where it is claimed that no one has ever seen the father except the son. Yet, the first part offers a new idea: the Jewish opponents have never heard God's voice. Scholars seeking a source for this motif refer to the Old Testament.⁵⁵ In Exod. 19.9, 19, it is said that Israel will hear God's voice (v. 9) and that Moses has heard God's voice (v. 19).⁵⁶ The LXX translation of Exod. 20.18 changed the idea of hearing to seeing (ἐώρα).⁵⁷ In these passages, it is not stated whether the people heard or not.⁵⁸

Deut. 4.12 is more explicit: 'Then the LORD spoke to you out of the fire. You heard the sound of words but saw no form; there was only a voice.'⁵⁹ This has three issues in common with Jn 5.37: (1) a plurality of people representing Israel; (2) mention that someone heard or did not hear (using an aorist or a perfect form of ἀκούω); (3) God's voice (both texts use the Greek word φωνή) as the object of hearing. The relationship of the debated texts is underscored by a second motif. Both texts confirm that the said persons did *not see God*.⁶⁰ If Deut. 4.12 is present as an echo in Jn 1.18,⁶¹ it is likely that it is present also in Jn 5.37.

53. Within the Gospels, the verb is only to be found in Jn 5.21 (twice); 6.63. Seven times (of 11) it is used by Paul and once in 1 Peter (3.18).

54. Hebrew קָיָם is not as clear as the Greek text; it may simply mean to keep alive in contrast to 'to kill' or it may refer to provide life.

55. See Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium II*, p. 174; U. Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (NTD, 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 17th edn, 1998), p. 123. Any reference to Scripture in 5.37 is denied by J. Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah. The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2nd edn, 1993), p. 240.

56. R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII)* (AB, 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), p. 225, mentions Exod. 19.9 as Johannine pre-text.

57. Cf. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, pp. 73–4.

58. That Moses may have heard God's voice as stated in Targumic literature, as Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, p. 75, refers to, is not the same as being heard by the people.

59. Deut. 5.4 supports the first part of 4.12 without referring to seeing the likeness of God: God has spoken to Israel out of the fire.

60. Compare Jn 5.37 (οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑώρακατε) with Deut. 4.12 (καὶ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ εἶδετε).

61. M. M. Thompson, *The God of the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 110, assumes an echo to Exod. 33.11, 18–23 and Deut. 4.12; 5.4 in Jn 1.18; 5.37; 6.45–46; *idem*, "'God's

Michael Theobald seems to be right when he states that Jn 5.37 contradicts Deut. 4.12.⁶² Yet, Jn 5.37 does not simply deny what Deut. 4.12 states. Deut. 4.12 is addressed to the people, Jn 5.37 is directed *against* Jesus' addressees within the Johannine text. John contradicts the message of Deut. 4.12 with regard to the opponents *in* the text, who are going to kill Jesus (5.16, 18). The difference is not to be seen in relation to the biblical pre-text but with regard to the validity of this text to Jesus' addressees in John 5.⁶³ The contradiction is part of a hermeneutical process in the Gospel of John. The narrator contradicts the addressees within the Johannine text. As far as they oppose the son sent by God, to whom Moses and the Scripture bore witness, the dissenters witness that they never heard God; Jesus as a Johannine character contradicts the pre-text only in so far as it was not true with regard to the addressees claiming to have Moses and the Law on their side (cf. 5.17–18, 39). This interpretation is supported by Jn 6.44–46, where it is God who provides access to his son (v. 44) and those who believe in him are taught by the father and have heard him (v. 45: 'Everyone who has heard and learned from the Father comes to me'). 6.46 indicates that the narrator is aware of the connection of Jn 1.18, 5.37 and 6.45: 'Not that anyone has seen the Father except the one who is from God; he has seen the Father.' By using this technique of repetition, John unfolds his christological claims. Moreover, he distinguishes between those to whom the statement of Deut. 4.12 is valid and those to whom it is not. The technique also says something about the meaning of God's conversation on Mount Sinai, which, according to the narrator of the Johannine Jesus-story, was a communication concerning Jesus.⁶⁴ Thus, reading Jn 5.37 in the light of the other mentioned texts provides new insights into the christocentric understanding of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel.⁶⁵

Jn 7.24, 51 (Deut. 1.16-17; cf. 16.18-19; 25.1)

Jesus' appearance at the feast of tabernacles (John 7–8) brings him into conflict with Jewish authorities (cf. 7.40ff.). Some people want to catch him (v. 43), an

Voice You Have Never Heard, God's Form You Have Never Seen": The Characterization of God in the Gospel of John', *Semeia* 63 (1993), pp. 177–204. However, the above argument shows that John 5.37 is more concrete in the transforming reference to one specific pre-text.

62. M. Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh.* (NTA, 20; Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), pp. 363–64. By differentiating between voice (the specific sound of one person) and λόγος (that what people have heard) Thyen, *Johannesevangelium*, p. 325, maintains that Jn 5.37 does not contradict Old Testament pre-texts. However, Deut. 4.12 exactly states that Israel heard 'a voice (φωνή) of words'.

63. See also Scholtissek, "Die unauflösbare Schrift" (Joh 10,35), pp. 168–69 underscoring the christological perspective that leads those statements in Jn 5.37, 39.

64. Cf. S. van Tilborg, *Das Johannesevangelium. Ein Kommentar für die Praxis* (Stuttgart: KBW, 2005), p. 80. It is possible that the narrator claims that it was not God but the pre-existent *logos* who spoke to the people on Mount Sinai, as Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, p. 82, states; see also M. Labahn, 'Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium. Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis', in Labahn, Scholtissek, Strotmann (eds.), *Israel und seine Heils-traditionen im Johannesevangelium*, pp. 185–206 (p. 196 interpreting Jn 7.51; pp. 203–04).

65. Since the Greek version of Deut. 4.12 is a true rendering of the Hebrew text there is no indication if the reference in John was to the Greek or the Hebrew version.

act presented as initiated by the high priests and the Pharisees (v. 44). In condemning the crowd (v. 49: 'But this crowd, which does not know the law – they are accursed'), the Pharisees provide a catchword for the next acting character, Nicodemus, who has already been introduced to the reader (3.1-2). He raises his voice in favour of Jesus, challenging the Pharisees with the question:

Our law does not judge people without first giving them a hearing to find out what they are doing, does it? (Jn 7.59)

The system of intra-textual references indicates that Nicodemus has heard Jesus and that he is impressed by Jesus' proclamation; the narrator indicates that the people do not know the law according to the Pharisees (7.49), but in contrast to them, one of those who knows the law is on Jesus' side. Moreover, Nicodemus' question indicates that the law itself speaks on Jesus' behalf. In the speech of Nicodemus, the law becomes an actor within the narrative, functioning to judge people with a clear agenda to be followed: first to hear a man's word and then to look at his deeds and make a fair judgement. The reference to the law is a possible marker used by the narrator establishing an intertextual reference. Referring to the function of the law allows the readers and interpreters to search for possible parallels. The lack of any explicit marker or precise verbal agreement makes this difficult but a case can be made for Deut. 1.16-17.⁶⁶

I charged your judges at that time: 'Give the members of your community a fair hearing, and judge rightly between one person and another, whether citizen or resident alien. You must not be partial in judging: hear out the small and the great alike; you shall not be intimidated by anyone, for the judgement is God's. Any case that is too hard for you, bring to me, and I will hear it.' (Deut. 1.16-17)

The verbal agreement between the possible allusion and the Johannine text is small. Deut. 1.16-17 does not refer to the law as actor but to judges who were installed by Moses. The words of Moses present a basic rule for judges acting in accordance with the law. So one may identify the work of those judges with that of the law. The possibility of an intended reference in John to Deut. 1.16 is supported by the rule the Johannine Jesus quotes in Jn 7.24, 'Do not judge by appearances, but judge with right judgement'. Again the verbal agreements are quite few (κρίνειν and δικαί-), but thematic parallels are present.⁶⁷ The warning not to go on⁶⁸ to 'judge by appearances' is further elaborated in Deut. 1.17, adding what the judges have to avoid.

Some scholars, however, refer to Isa. 11.3 as a closer parallel ('He shall not judge by what his eyes see, or decide by what his ears hear'). It is difficult to

66. Hübner, Labahn, Labahn, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo I*, 2, refer also to Deut. 13.14-16; 17.4-6 and 25.1. The first two texts occur in a context of idolatry and Deut. 25.1 deals with matters of civil rights. There are also texts outside Deuteronomy to be considered here (Exod. 23.1; Num. 35.30; PsLXX 42.1).

67. Of course, Deut. 1.16 is not the only passage in the Old Testament pleading to a just judgement; cf. below n. 69.

68. Moloney, *Gospel of John*, p. 246, is right to point to the present imperative as referring to an ongoing process that means 'a habitual way of judging'.

ignore Isa. 11.3 as a possible source for Jn 7.24, especially in a Greek variant closer to the Hebrew. Indeed, the idea taken up in Jn 7.24 is also found in other Old Testament texts⁶⁹ and so an allusion to Deut. 1.16–17 must remain uncertain. It is a text which readers who are familiar with Deuteronomy may take into consideration for filling the general reference to the law with a particular example.

Jn 7.33–36 (Deut. 4.29; Isa. 55.6)

Jn 7.33–36 formulates the problem that fosters Johannine post-Easter hermeneutics. During his earthly life, Jesus was present to his contemporaries ἐν παρησίᾳ ('openly'; 7.4, 13; 11.54; 18.20).⁷⁰ The Jewish addressees do not understand the matter raised, because they do not share Jesus' 'universe of discourse' for they do not know Jesus' origin with the father (1.18; cf. 1.1) nor his destination to return to the father. Thus there is a time where there is no direct access to Jesus, a time of searching for Jesus in vain: 'You will search (ζητήσετε) for me, but you will not find (εὐρήσετε) me; and where I am, you cannot come' (Jn 7.34). Two possible pre-texts are Deut. 4.29 and Isa. 55.6:⁷¹

From there you will seek (ζητήσετε) the LORD your God, and you will find (εὐρήσετε) him if you search after him with all your heart and soul. (Deut. 4.29)

Seek (ζητήσατε) the LORD while he may be found (ἐν τῷ εὐρίσκειν), call upon him while he is near. (Isa. 55.6)

While the structure of the parallel sentences differs between the Hebrew and the Greek Old Testament version of Isa. 55.6,⁷² they share the nearness of God as a condition to get in touch with him. Such a movement is close to John 7 where the accessibility of Jesus is bound to his life-time presence (v. 33: 'I will be with you a little while longer'). Because Deut. 4.29 misses such a condition, it is more plausible to think of Isa. 55.6 as a plausible pre-text, either in the Greek version or the more clearly structured Hebrew text. However, I would not completely exclude an influence from Deut. 4.29. The unbelief of the addressees could imply that they do not search Jesus 'with all their heart' and that they do not understand the nearness of God's presence in Jesus because they are accused not to share the Johannine hermeneutical concept.

Jn 9.1–4 (Deut. 5.9)

Jesus and his disciples meet a man born blind. Within ancient popular moral values, which were largely based on an action-consequence principle, blindness

69. Cf. Deut. 10.17; 16.19; 2 Chron. 19.7; Prov. 28.23; see also Job 32.21; 34.19; Prov. 28.21; Mal. 2.9 (lacking juridical implications).

70. Cf. Labahn, 'Die παρησία des Gottessohnes', *passim*, on John 7 cf. *ibid.*, pp. 324–28.

71. There are texts referring to the problem of searching and finding God: Isa. 55.6; JerLXX 36.13 (which may reflect Deut. 4.29: καὶ ἐκζητήσατέ με καὶ εὐρήσετε με ὅτι ζητήσατέ με ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν); 1 Chron. LXX 28.9; cf. C. Dogniez, M. Harl, *Le Deutéronome* (La Bible d'Alexandrie, 5; Paris: Cerf, 1992), p. 143.

72. Literally, the LXX reads: 'Seek the Lord and when you find him, call upon him; and when he draws near to you...'

is thought to be a punishment for sin by the gods.⁷³ Consequently, to be born blind could mean that the man did not sin himself.⁷⁴ Therefore, the question is asked, 'Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' (Jn 9.2).⁷⁵ It is possible that Deut. 5.9 (or Exod. 20.5) are in the background: 'I the LORD your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and fourth generation of those who reject me.' Deut. 5.9 and Exod. 20.5 are elemental texts mentioning a sin for which the children are punished instead of the parents, though such a conception is not undisputed, even within Deuteronomy itself (cf. 24.16). It is probable that Jn 9.2 alludes to the 'Ten Commandments', but due to the general character of the reference it is not possible to decide which version of the Ten Commandments was in mind. Moreover, since the Ten Commandments were part of the cultural memory of the Jewish people, the reference may originate there.

Theological, Christological and Ethical Features Taken from the Book of Deuteronomy

Within the last section I will address myself very briefly to some of the motifs within the Gospel of John that have parallels in the book of Deuteronomy. These motifs should, according to my analysis, be counted neither as quotations nor within the category of allusions. However, the material mentioned hereafter indicates that the narrator of John's Gospel is much more concerned with the book of Deuteronomy than the small number of quotations from or allusions to the book may indicate. Nevertheless, it is much more complicated to constitute a direct relationship to the written *book* of Deuteronomy because some of these motifs seem to be rather popular within Old Testament and ancient Judaism.

There are two main areas to take into account. With regard to Johannine theology and ethics the motif *Love of God/Jesus and Care for God's Commandments* (Jn 5.42; 8.41-42; 14.15⁷⁶ and Deut. 6.4-6; see also 7.9-11; 10.12-13; 11.1, 13-14, 22; 13.3[4]-4[5]; 19.9; 30.6, 16, 19-20; cf. Jn 8.51 and Deut. 4.1-4) has to be

73. Cf. the material presented by Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender*, p. 233 n. 101. For the Old Testament cf. Lev. 26.16; Deut. 26.28: 'The LORD will afflict you with madness, blindness, and confusion of mind'; see M. L. Brown, *Israel's Divine Healer* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1995), p. 241.

74. But see the discussion about prenatal sinning in rabbinic literature: *Gen. Rab.* 63.6; *Ruth' Rab.* 6.4.

75. On this problem, see also T. Holmén, 'Jesus and Magic. Theodicean Perspectives to the Issue', in M. Labahn and B. J. Lietaert Peerbolte (eds), *A Kind of Magic. Understanding Magic in the New Testament and its Religious Environment* (LNTS, 306; London & New York: T&T Clark, 2007), pp. 43-56 (52-3); Metzner, *Sünde*, pp. 75-6.

76. John 13.34-35 is not to be considered here. Introduced as a new commandment, John 13.34-35 receives its authority from Jesus; so U. Schnelle, 'Johanneische Ethik', in C. Bötttrich (ed.), *Eschatologie und Ethik im frühen Christentum* (FS G. Haufe; Greifswalder theologische Forschungen, 11; Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 309-27 (317); G. Theissen, *Die Religion der ersten Christen. Eine Theorie des Urchristentums* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2000), p. 270, observe rightly, however, an intertextual relationship to Lev. 19.17-18 is not excluded.

mentioned.⁷⁷ According to Beutler, the Johannine commandment of mutual love of brothers and sisters is a direct development out of Deut. 6.4-5.⁷⁸ Here, Johannine intratextuality – the motif of immanence of father and son – and intertextuality both have to be considered.

Without discussing here the adequateness of the title *the Prophet to Come* (Jn 1.21; 6.14; 7.40; 9.17 and Deut. 18.15-18; cf. Jn 5.43; 12.49-50 [Deut. 18.18-20]) within Johannine Christology, Deuteronomy 18 can be mentioned as a reference for the Johannine concept.⁷⁹ However, it is noteworthy that a messianic prophet to come is mentioned in some Jewish texts especially from Qumran as well.⁸⁰ See further:

- *The True Works of God* (Jn 5.20; 7.18; 8.16-18 and Deut. 32.4),
- *Life and Scripture* (Jn 5.39-40 and Deut. 30.16-20; 32.47),⁸¹
- *To Give Honour to the Father and to the Son* (Jn 5.22-23 and Deut. 5.6),
- *Moses, the Provider of the Law* (Jn 7.19 and Deut. 27.1-3; 31.9; 32.44-46),
- *Serving God, the Lord* (Jn 16.2 and Deut. 31.9; 32.44-46).

77. On the Johannine connection of love of God / Jesus and care for God's commandments, see J. Augenstein, *Das Liebesgebot im Johannesevangelium und in den Johannesbriefen* (BWANT, 134; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993), pp. 183–84; Beutler, 'Hauptgebot', pp. 107–20. The closeness of the Johannine concept of commandment to the one in Deuteronomy is also confirmed by R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John* (ed. F. J. Moloney; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 2003), p. 135.

The combination of love of God and keeping his commandments is not only to be found in Deuteronomy; however, it is a formulaic statement often found especially in this Biblical book. Cf. Beutler, 'Hauptgebot', p. 117: within the Bible the formula has its 'privileged place' in the book of Deuteronomy. On the formula cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11* (Analecta Biblica, 20; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963); on the relationship of love and commandment in Deuteronomy cf. H. Spieckermann, 'Mit der Liebe im Wort. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums', in Spieckermann, *Gottes Liebe zu Israel. Studien zur Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2001), pp. 157–72; L. Perlt, '"Evangelium" und Gesetz im Deuteronomium', in Perlt, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), pp. 172–83. Beutler points also to Jn 5.42 and 8.41–42 (Beutler, 'Hauptgebot', pp. 111–15). He stresses this relationship as a reference to the Old Testament 'Bundestheologie' (pp. 118–19).

78. Beutler, 'Die Johannesbriefe in der neuesten Literatur (1978–1985)', in Beutler, *Studien*, pp. 121–40 (132).

79. See W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967); M.-É. Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); K. S. Fuglseth, *Johannine Sectarianism in Perspective: A Sociological, Historical, and Comparative Analysis of Temple and Social relationships in the Gospel of John, Philo, and Qumran* (NovTSup, 119; Leiden et al.: Brill, 2005), p. 266. See also J. Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* (WUNT, II/173; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 111–12, referring to a king. Some scholars neglect an allusion to Moses and/or Deuteronomy 18 – so A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium. Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate* (WUNT, II/83; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), pp. 138–39, 370 n. 14.

80. See Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender*, p. 278 n. 72.

81. Obermann, *Christologische Erfüllung der Schrift*, p. 375, who points to other biblical texts as well: p. 379.

All of the entries in this list stand in a close relationship to the maturing of Johannine ideas and indicate how seriously Johannine ethics, Christology and theology are established in dialogue with Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, a close look at the motifs mentioned above will show in what respect the narrator of the Gospel or perhaps already his school or community, shape those ideas in regard to the needs of their own theological and christological images.

Conclusions

The above shows that themes and motifs from the book of Deuteronomy are present throughout the fourth Gospel. The fourth evangelist develops his christological and theological insights in dialogue with Deuteronomy. Ethics especially, the central idea of love of God and/or Jesus and the care for their commandments, are developed in a creative dialogue with ideas from the book of Deuteronomy. It is important to maintain that result when drawing implications from the relative paucity of quotations and allusions.

It is surprising that quotations (that occur scarcely and are disputed) and allusions cannot be found everywhere in the Gospel. According to my analysis, most of them occur only in polemical contexts: John 5 and John 7–8. In confrontation with Jewish opponents, the Johannine Jesus uses material from Deuteronomy which is most prominent for the religious self-understanding of the Jewish people (especially Deut. 6.4–6). John uses texts from Deuteronomy to describe and to counter the position of the Jewish people. It might be suspected that at least some of these texts were used in discussion of the Johannine school with representatives of Jewish synagogues. It is not a debate regarding the meaning of the pre-text but regarding hermeneutics. John shares a strong emphasis on monotheism but within a christological universe of thought⁸² that is unacceptable to his Jewish opponents within (and outside) the text. Consequently, the Gospel text opens a window to the extratextual ancient world. The hermeneutical strategy is receptive; the narrator claims the Scripture according to his own understanding and reads it with his own christological and theological interpretation in mind. Thus, Scripture becomes an argument approved in the text speaking against Jewish opponents in the text.

From the above discussion it can be shown that most of the possible references are reworked with regard to the innertextual religious language, thought and value-system of John. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to decide whether we can find an intra-textual repetition or variation of Johannine motifs or thoughts or if it was an intentional intertextual link opening up a dialogue with other texts. Moreover, the character of an intertextual play may not always be fixed to one single pre-text (7.33–36). And further, as already mentioned in the introduction, it

82. See U. Schnelle, 'Trinitarisches Denken im Johannesevangelium', in Labahn, Scholtissek, Strotmann (eds), *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium*, pp. 367–86.

cannot always be decided for sure if a reference goes back to a written text or to the reception of that text by public memory (cf. 5.44; 7.51; 9.2; see also 8.54). In the latter case, the intertextual play operates with material which is itself part of that kind of play.

Because of the nature of the texts under investigation in this study, it has not been possible to decide whether they presuppose a Greek or Hebrew version of their pre-text. However, there is no clear sign that a Hebrew pre-text needs to be assumed and sometimes the Greek one is the most probable source.

Chapter 6

DEUTERONOMY IN GALATIANS AND ROMANS

Roy E. Ciampa

Introduction

Romans has the greatest density of biblical quotations of all the books of the New Testament, with 7.2 verses per quotation. Galatians comes fourth in line, behind Hebrews and 1 Peter, with 12.5 verses per quotation.¹ Of course, the quotations are not found evenly distributed throughout the letters. They tend to be clumped together in sections where a variety of scriptural texts are drawn together and interpreted in light of each other. Since it is clear that Paul is generally following the Septuagint, primary reference will be made to that ancient version in discussing his use of Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy in Galatians

There are two explicit quotations from Deuteronomy in Galatians, and both of them mention a curse. Two other echoes of Deuteronomy also relate to that theme. Among other things, Paul uses Deuteronomy in Galatians to explain how people fall under the curse of the Law and how they can find redemption from it through Jesus Christ.

Gal. 1.8-9/Deut. 13.12-16 (echo)²

Paul describes the Galatians' situation as one of impending apostasy from God – they are 'turning quickly from [God] who called them' (1.6). More precisely, it is a situation in which the Galatians are being seduced towards apostasy by some teachers who have come into their midst. When Paul affirms twice (vv. 8-9) that anyone preaching a gospel message different from the one he proclaimed to them should be accursed, or anathematized (ἀνάθεμα ἔστω) he seems to be echoing Deut. 13.12-16 LXX, where the Israelites are told that if people try to lead the inhabitants of one of their towns astray by promoting the worship of other gods

1. Statistics taken from Steve Moyise, 'Isaiah in 1 Peter', in S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken (eds), *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2005), p. 175 n. 1.

2. The following is only slightly adapted from my fuller discussion of this in *The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2* (WUNT, 2.102; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 83–88.

they should (among other things) curse them with the curse (or anathematize them with the anathema – ἀναθέμεματι ἀναθεματισίτε).

In the Hebrew text the penalty was the ban (קִרְיָה), which was translated into Greek as ἀνόςημα.³ There was a transition in Second Temple Judaism from executing offenders to excommunicating them (with the use of curses) as a preparation or substitution for such punishment.⁴ K. O. Sandnes has pointed out that the three examples of seducing to apostasy in Deuteronomy 13 (vv. 2-6, 7-11, 13-18) 'have a structure which resembles that of Gal. 1.8-9' in that each is structured by an opening conditional clause (ἐὰν δέ) with an accusation which is followed by a statement of the punishment'.⁵ Furthermore, the 'third instance in Deuteronomy 13 defines the punishment in the others as a curse. Deut. 13.1-6 thus witnesses that false prophecy and curse belonged together in the tradition'.⁶ It seems reasonable to understand Paul's curses on those who entice God's people to turn away from him to be apostolic declarations whose content is based on the scriptural ban on people who do the same thing (Deut. 13.12-15).

Gal. 2.6/Deut. 10.17 (echo)

In the middle of his discussion of his relationship with the apostles in Jerusalem (2.1-10) Paul cites a maxim on the impartiality of God – 'God does not show favouritism' (πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει). Deut. 10.17 is the primary source for the affirmation of God's impartiality (οὐ θαυμάζει πρόσωπον), a truth that is reaffirmed throughout the Old Testament and early Jewish literature (2 Chron. 19.7; Sir. 35.12-13; Jub. 5.16; 21.4; 30.16; 33.18; Pss. Sol. 2.18; 2 Apoc. Bar. 13.8; 44.4; 1 Enoch 63.8; and Bib. Ant. 20.4).⁷ In many of these texts there is an element of warning to those whose power may lead them to be proud or arrogant or who may be tempted to oppress those less powerful than themselves. Paul has just finished asserting his own unwillingness to give in to those who were seeking to exercise power and social influence in a way he felt inappropriate. Like God himself, he cannot be expected to show partiality by bowing to human influence.

3. ἀνάθεμα and ἀναθεματίζω are the preferred translations for קִרְיָה in the LXX.

4. William Horbury, 'Extirpation and Excommunication' VT 35 (1985), pp. 27-30.

5. K. O. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostle's Self-Understanding* (WUNT, 2.43; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), pp. 71-2. Just as relevant is the preaching of a 'different gospel' in 1.6, 8-9.

6. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, p. 72. See his discussion of the further indications of this correlation in the tradition on pp. 72-3.

7. J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (WBC 38a; Dallas: Word, 1988), p. 89.

Gal. 3.10/Deut. 27.26 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 27.26 LXX</i>	<i>Gal. 3.10</i>
Cursed is any man who does not continue in all the words of this Law so as to do them.	For all those who identify themselves with the works of the Law are under a curse, for it is written, 'Cursed is anyone who does not continue in all the things written in the book of the Law so as to do them.'

The twin motifs of blessing and curse occupy Paul's argument in Gal. 3.1-14. The texts from Deuteronomy are engaged in dialogue with Gen. 15.6; 12.3 (18.18; 22.18), Hab. 2.4 and Lev. 18.5, which provide the background on the blessing of Abraham and two alternative approaches to finding life.

The opening 'for' (γάρ) indicates that the passage beginning in v. 10 serves to confirm the point of the previous passage, especially v. 9, that those with faith are the ones who receive the blessing of Abraham. That point is established by the introduction of the contrasting motif of the curse, which is understood to be upon those who take the alternative approach to membership in God's people – the Mosaic Law. As Hays indicates, the reference to Deuteronomy clarifies which curse Paul has in mind. 'When Paul's allusion to Deuteronomy is taken fully into account, one time-worn issue of Pauline exegesis solves itself: "the curse of the law" from which Christ redeems us (Gal. 3.13) is not the law itself regarded as a curse, but the curse that the Law pronounces in Deuteronomy 27'.⁸

Christopher Stanley thinks 'the informed audience would have found ample reason to question the legitimacy of Paul's biblical argumentation' in vv. 10-14. 'Whereas the quotation pronounces a curse on the person who fails to abide by the requirements of Torah, Paul applies the curse to those who seek to *comply* with the laws of Torah'.⁹ Francis Watson admits that 'Paul here appears to universalize a scriptural statement which refers *prima facie* to only one of the two main categories of those addressed by the law: those who transgress it, as opposed to those who observe it'.¹⁰ He suggests Paul has adopted 'a consecutive reading of his texts from Leviticus and Deuteronomy, in which the latter effectively cancels the former'. This brings to the surface 'a severe internal tension within the crucial closing chapters of Deuteronomy: the tension between conditional statements, which imply the choice between blessing and curse, life and death is genuinely open, and statements of prophetic denunciation, in which the realization of the curse has become a certainty'.¹¹

8. R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 203-4 n. 24.

9. C. D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 123-4.

10. F. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2004), p. 427.

11. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 429.

Admitting that in the local context of this verse ‘it is certainly not those who practice works of the law who are under this curse’, Watson argues that ‘in the wider context of the concluding chapters of Deuteronomy, things are not so straightforward. In these chapters, the curse that is initially directed against law-breakers is extended so as to encompass all Israel’.¹² Perhaps it would be more precise to suggest that while both Leviticus and Deuteronomy ‘imply the choice between blessing and curse, life and death is genuinely open’ the latter indicates that the choice and application of the curse would eventually be universal, and Paul understands himself and his readers to be living in the period since the curse of the Law has fallen definitively on his people.

Paul’s wording does not match the LXX form of this text exactly¹³ and Watson thinks it ‘evident from the form of Paul’s citation of Deut. 27.26 that he has in mind more than an isolated proof-text’.¹⁴ The differences in wording between Paul’s quotation of the verse and that which is found in the LXX may reflect the influence of some texts from later on in Deuteronomy that refer not simply to the Law or commandment, but to ‘this book’ or ‘the book of the Law’ (esp. 28.58, 61; 28.61; 29.20; 30.10).¹⁵ It seems a ‘shift occurs here from law as oral proclamation (‘the words of this law’, 27.26) to an identification between law and the book of Deuteronomy itself’.¹⁶ Furthermore, in these other texts “‘the book of the law” is associated with the threat – and indeed the certainty – that the law’s curse presents the destiny of the entire people, and not just of individual law-breakers’.¹⁷ This is in keeping with a common (although not universal) understanding in Paul’s day that the curse of the Law had fallen on Israel and Judah, and, as has been pointed out by others, a number of early Jewish texts reflect the understanding that the curse of the Law had fallen on Israel in its later history and had yet to be fully lifted.¹⁸

Paul’s citation of this verse makes much better sense if it is understood not merely as a reference to the meaning of the words in the nearest context but, as

12. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 430.

13. For a careful word-by-word comparison of Paul’s text with the LXX of this verse, see C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS, 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 238–43.

14. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 431.

15. The precise wording, ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, is found in Deut. 28.61; 29.19, 20, 26; 30.10; and Jos. 23.6.

16. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 431.

17. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 432.

18. E.g., O. H. Steck, ‘Das Problem theologischer Strömungen in nachexilischer Zeit’, *EvT* 28 (1968), pp. 445–58; M. A. Knibb, ‘The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period’, *HeyJ* 17 (1976), pp. 253–72; N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God; London: SPCK, 1992), pp. 139–43, 268–72; C. M. Pate, J. S. Duvall, J. D. Hayes, E. R. Richards, W. D. Tucker Jr. and P. Vang, *The Story of Israel: A Biblical Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), pp. 105–118; C. A. Evans, ‘Jesus & the Continuing Exile of Israel’ in C. C. Newman (ed.), *Jesus & the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright’s Jesus and the Victory of God* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), pp. 77–100; S. G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Biblical Theology of the Hebrew Bible* (New Studies in Biblical Theology, 15; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), p. 219 n. 7.

suggested by the incorporation of language from later texts dealing with the curse and by other ancient Jewish understandings, as a reference to the curse which was understood by the end of the book of Deuteronomy, and certainly by Paul's time, to have fallen on Jews as a whole, the curse from which some Jews continued to await redemption and consolation.

Gal. 3.13/Deut. 21.23 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 21.22-23 LXX</i>	<i>Gal. 3.13</i>
If someone is found to have committed a sin which is punishable by death and you hang him on a tree [or gallows], you must not let his body remain upon the tree all night, but you must bury them on that same day, for anyone hung on a tree [or gallows] is cursed by God and you must not defile the land which the Lord your God is giving you for an inheritance.	Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming accursed for our sakes, since it is written, 'anyone who is hung on a tree/gallows is cursed'.

Having argued in the previous verses that the blessing comes through faith in Christ rather than through the Law of Moses and that those who are committed to an identity based on the latter are under a curse, Paul cites Deut. 21.23 in order to explain how it is that some find redemption from the Law's curse. Stanley thinks Paul's use of this verse

would have added yet more fuel to the informed audience's growing suspicion of Paul's arguments from the Jewish Scriptures. A glance at the original passage would have shown that the verse Paul quotes actually refers to the ancient practice of hanging the dead body of a convicted criminal on a tree for public display, not the redeeming death of a crucified Messiah. Only by extracting the verse from its original context and revising its wording could Paul claim that it refers to the death of Jesus. For the informed audience, the tendentiousness of such a reading would have been obvious.¹⁹

Paul does not say the verse *refers* to Christ, however, but indicates that we can learn from it how Christ's death might provide a means of redemption from a curse. As Watson insists

the scriptural text functions as a valid piece of legislation, and not as a prophecy of Christ. Rather than speaking directly of Christ, it refers to everyone *hung* upon the wood – including Christ. Of course, not everyone who is *hung* upon the wood becomes a curse for us, as Christ does; Paul cannot extract the saving significance of the crucifixion from Deuteronomy. What he can do is to reflect on the scriptural connection between public execution and the divine curse, and to ask what light that connection sheds on the redemption Christ has achieved.²⁰

Watson reconstructs an exegetical argument for extending the Law to those who were hung not as a separate act from the execution but as the means of execution.²¹ That the same Law (and evaluation of the executed person) would be

19. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, pp. 125–6.

20. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 422.

21. Cf. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, pp. 420–21.

understood to apply to a form of execution that incorporates the act of public exposure of the convict (and the corpse) into the method of execution itself would not seem to require significant comment, and did not seem to merit such comment in 11Q19 LXIV 10-12 where the law cited by Paul is applied in just such case.²²

Paul's wording of the quotation of this verse²³ reflects the use of an alternative for the Greek word used for 'curse' in the LXX (ἐπικατάρατος instead of κεκατηραμένος). The word used in the LXX is only used in one other place in Deuteronomy (23.5 [23.4]), while the word Paul substitutes is used repeatedly in Deuteronomy 27-28 LXX (27.15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 [×2], 24, 25, 26; 28.16 [×2], 19 [×2]). The verbal substitution not only helps to more closely associate this verse with a predominant theme in chapters 27-28, it also 'assimilates this passage to the opening words of Deuteronomy 27.26 (cited in Gal. 3.10)'.²⁴ As Watson stresses, Paul's assimilation of one text to the other promotes the recognition of a connection between the two texts which is of fundamental importance for his argument.²⁵ He recognizes that this verse

enables Paul to speak of the manner of the redemption achieved by Christ – in particular, that this involves his entering fully into the dire state of those needing to be redeemed. In his crucifixion, Christ himself was subject to the very curse from which he seeks to liberate others: and Paul learns this from the Deuteronomy text, rather than merely using it to confirm what he already knows.²⁶

Obviously, Paul did not learn this from Deuteronomy based on the similar wording of the two texts (since they were not similarly worded), but having deduced the relationship based on the two different ways in which people might be cursed, his rewording of the text serves to encourage his readers to recognize the connection as well.

Arguably the most significant difference between Paul's rendering of Deut. 21.23 and that found in the LXX (and the HB) is that the latter explicitly says the person hung is cursed 'by God', while Paul's text does not. Many think this deviation is of tremendous importance.²⁷ In both Gal. 3.10 and 3.13, however, Paul understands the curse to be one which is threatened by God and carried out by

22. See the text and discussion in Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 420.

23. For a careful word-by-word comparison of Paul's text with the LXX here, see Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, pp. 245-8.

24. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 422. So also M. Silva 'Galatians and Philipians' in D. A. Carson and G. K. Beale (eds), *Commentary on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, forthcoming).

25. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 422.

26. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 422. Similarly, Hays (*Echoes*, p. 169): 'Scripture spoke the truth when it said, "Cursed is every one who is hanged upon a tree," but Paul now construes that truth in an ironic mode: by hanging upon the tree, Jesus became cursed in order that blessing might accrue to others.'

27. Cf. the various views of J. L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997), pp. 320-21; E. de Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921), pp. 164-5; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 165; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 247.

him in accordance with the warning given in the law, so that the ‘curse of the Law’, is hardly to be distinguished from ‘cursed by God’.²⁸ The omission of ‘by God’ may simply be explained on the same basis as the substitution of the alternative word for ‘cursed’, namely, that Paul conforms the style of the quotation in v. 13 to that of the quotation in v. 10. Rather than having ‘cursed [is] everyone’ in the first case and then ‘cursed by God [is] everyone’ in the second, he conforms the second quotation to the first. With each quote beginning in precisely the same way, ‘cursed is everyone ...’ (ἐπικατάρατον πᾶν) the suggestion of a theological relationship between the two verses is enhanced by the clear linguistic parallel between them.

Deuteronomy in Romans

In his use of Deuteronomy in Romans Paul seems to focus on the goodness and holiness of the Law and Israel’s contrasting dullness and unresponsiveness to it, and on the explanatory power of the Song of Moses for understanding the role of Paul’s ministry and its intended outcomes among both Jews and Gentiles.

Rom. 7.7/Deut. 5.21[Exod. 20.17] (quotation)

<i>Deut. 5.21 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 7.7</i>
You must not covet your neighbour’s wife. You must not covet your neighbour’s house, his field, his male servant, his female servant, his ox, his donkey, his pack animal, or anything else that belongs to your neighbour.	What will we say then? That the Law is sin? Out of the question! But I would not have known sin if it were not through the Law. I would not have known what it is to covet if the Law had not said, ‘You must not covet.’

The quoted text from the Ten Commandments is identical in both Deut. 5.21 and Exod. 20.17, but when Paul quotes it again in Rom. 13.9 it is clear that he is citing from Deuteronomy (see below). Watson seems to be on target in suggesting that the Septuagint’s version of the commands regarding coveting serves ‘to differentiate sexual desire for an illicit object from the other prohibited desires and to present it as paradigmatic of all such prohibited desires’. In this way the LXX ‘invites reflection on the problematic nature of “desire” as such, tacitly drawing upon the often negative connotations of the corresponding Greek noun, *epithumia*. Paul can therefore cite the tenth commandment in an abbreviated form in which “desire” itself is prohibited, without reference to specific objects’. This abbreviation ‘has the effect of widening the scope of the commandment.’²⁹ Others have pointed out

28. Cf. R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC, 41; Dallas: Word, 1990), p. 122.

29. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, pp. 361–2. William Loader (*The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament: Case Studies on the Impact of the LXX in Philo and the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], pp. 5–11) provides a detailed discussion of the prominence and significance of this particular prohibition in the LXX, which he thinks has a stronger sexual connotation than the Hebrew and which places coveting (or lusting over) one’s neighbour’s wife before

that ‘the generalizing omission of the compound objects (τὴν γυναῖκα κτλ.) when citing this commandment is standard practice in Diaspora Judaism’.³⁰

Rom. 10.6-9/Deut. 9.4; 30.11-14 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 9.4 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 10.6-10</i>
Do not say in your heart, when the Lord your God casts out these nations from before you, ‘it is because of my righteousness that the Lord has brought me in to inherit this good land’.	The righteousness based on faith speaks this way: ‘Do not say in your heart, “Who will go up to heaven?”’ (that is, to bring Christ down), ‘or, “Who will go down to the abyss?”’ (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what does it say? ‘The word is near to you. It is in your mouth and in your heart’ (that is, ‘the word’ of faith that we preach). Because if you confess ‘in your mouth’ that Jesus is Lord, and believe ‘in your heart’ that God has raised him from the dead, you will be saved. For one believes with the heart and is thereby justified and one confesses with the mouth and is thereby saved.
<i>Deut. 30.11-14 LXX</i>	
For this commandment that I am commanding you today is not excessive nor is it far from you. It is not in heaven above, that you might say, ‘Who will go up to heaven for us and take it for us so that we might hear and do it?’ Nor is it beyond the sea, that you might say, ‘Who will go over to the other side of the sea for us and take it for us and make it audible for us so that we might do it?’ The word is very near to you. It is in your mouth and in your heart and in your hands to do it.	

This passage contains an intriguing composite quotation, based primarily on Deut. 30.11-14, but with the opening line taken from Deut. 9.4. The part that represents Deut. 30.13 may reflect influence from Ps. 107.26 (106.26). Paul’s interpretation of this text seems to go directly against its grain, raising many questions about the persuasiveness of Paul’s use of it in his argument. Hays describes Paul’s usage here as ‘an apparently capricious act of interpretation’ in which ‘Paul seizes Moses’ admonition to Israel, warning them to obey the Law without rationalization or excuse (Deut. 30.11-14), and turns it into an utterance of The Righteousness from Faith, a character who contravenes the manifest sense of Moses’ words by transmuting them into a cryptic prophecy of the Christian gospel as preached by Paul’.³¹

Paul’s attribution of the quotation to ‘the righteousness based on faith’ may provide a clue as to the somewhat unusual nature of Paul’s use of the text here.

coveting his house, which comes first in the Hebrew of Exod. 20.17 (the wife comes before the house in both the Hebrew and the LXX of Deut. 5.21).

30. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 103, citing Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT, 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), p. 117 and K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament. Teil I: Markus und Parallelen* (WMANT, 40; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), pp. 346–47.

31. Hays, *Echoes*, pp. 73–4.

Watson points out that Paul's 'attribution of a scriptural text to a personified theological concept is ... highly unusual' and that it also 'contrasts strikingly with the widespread tendency in Romans 9–11 to name the scriptural authors whose texts are cited'. He suggests Moses is not named as the source of this quotation 'because Paul has no intention of citing this text in the form in which Moses wrote it'.³² Rather, Paul senses that the text 'must be rewritten so that it testifies to the righteousness of faith, and against the righteousness of the Law as articulated in the Leviticus [18.5] citation'.³³ Paul's use of a commentary or *peshier*-style interpretation suggests to others, however, that he expects his use of this text to be recognized as an earnest attempt to come to terms with its meaning and relevance for his readers. That commentary or *peshier* approach is seen in Paul's use of the expression 'that is' (τοῦτ' ἔστιν) to introduce interpretive glosses in the midst of the quoted text.³⁴ It will be argued here that Paul indicates he is neither providing a simple exegesis of the text nor simply using it as a point of departure to present a theological perspective that has no basis in the text. That Paul is not simply providing an exegesis of the text is strongly suggested by his contrast between what 'Moses writes' in v. 5 and what 'the righteousness by faith' says in vv. 6–10. He is explicitly *not* expounding on what Moses wrote. Paul has already indicated that the readers have been freed from the Law (Rom. 7.1–4). Just before his reference to what Moses wrote in Rom. 10.5 Paul affirmed that 'Christ is the end of the Law for justification for all who believe' (10.4), suggesting he believed Christ brought about a significant change in the way justification works. Although it may work differently, it seems that in some ways it parallels the pattern suggested by Deuteronomy 30 and Paul provides his readers with a commentary on how the message of Deut. 30.11–14 plays out in the eschatological context established by Christ.³⁵

The first key observation regarding the quotation itself is that the opening line, 'Do not say in your heart', does not come from the same passage as the rest of the quotation, but from Deut. 9.4. Deut. 30.11 refers to 'this commandment that I am commanding you today' as something 'not too difficult'. Watson suggests Paul attached these words to the front of his quotation 'in order to conceal the fact that, in its literal sense, it speaks unambiguously of the righteousness of the law'.³⁶ The context (vv. 4–5) would seem to suggest that, rather than concealing the fact, Paul expects the readers to know that *Moses'* text deals with the 'righteousness based on the law' and that Christ has introduced a significant change. Some of that

32. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 338.

33. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 338.

34. In the words of Hays (*Echoes*, p. 81), Paul's 'revisionary reading of Deut. 30.14, employing the *peshier* style, treats each phrase of the precursor text as a shorthand cipher for an element of the Christian confession. Paul works out his interpretation in Rom. 10.8–9 by expanding each key term of Deut. 30.14.' Cf. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 336.

35. Cf. Hays, *Echoes*, p. 82: 'Paul is not merely echoing Deuteronomy. This is an instance of line-by-line rereading, asserting explicitly that the latent sense of the Torah text is now expressed overtly in the gospel.'

36. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 339.

change is reflected in the elements that Paul omits from his quotation: Deut. 30.12-13 refers not just to going great distances (up into heaven or across the sea) but also of getting, hearing and *observing* the command, while v. 14 concludes by pointing out that God's word is nearby and available 'for you to observe'. Thus, while the text from which Paul is quoting gives great emphasis to the need to obey the Law of Moses, Paul omits those elements, introducing references to Christ and the gospel message in their place.³⁷

Paul suggests the fact that one need not go up into heaven (Deut. 30.12) indicates that it was not our task to bring Christ down (Rom. 10.6; referring to his incarnation or incarnation and death). While Deut. 30.13 goes on to dismiss any need to go across the sea to find the commandment (and do it), Paul's version refers to no need to go down to the abyss.³⁸ Dunn suggests 'the possibility cannot be excluded that there was a text form of Deut 30 in which the horizontal contrast (heaven/other side of the sea) had been replaced by the vertical contrast' but admits it is more likely that 'the two contrasts were recognized in Jewish circles as equivalent, so that one could be used in place of or to supplement the other without loss of or addition to the meaning'.³⁹ Of course, the vertical contrast fits Paul's needs much better, providing him with the means to relate Deut. 30.13 to the message of the resurrection. As the Israelites did not need to travel to heaven or across the sea to find God's command and do it (because God has made it accessible and easy), Paul's gospel asserts that one need not bring Christ to earth or raise him from the dead (because God has already accomplished that for us).

The 'word' that 'is near' is understood to be the 'word' (message) of faith preached by Paul. Deuteronomy's references to the mouth and the heart are related to the confession of Christ as Lord and faith in the truth of his resurrection since 'one believes with the heart and is thereby justified and one confesses with the mouth and is thereby saved'. Hays credits Dan Via with the observation that 'there is a deep structural affinity between the theology of the word in Deuteronomy and in Paul: "God's life-giving action seems to be interpreted in Deuteronomy as his life-giving word."' The meaning of Deut. 30.11-14 for Paul then is that 'the presence of God's word in the community of God's people empowers

37. Many scholars concur that Paul uses the phrase from Deut. 9.4 'because these words evoke an earlier word of God to Israel, in which the Lord God warns them against the presumption of their own righteousness and reminds these "stiffnecked" people that the initiative in deliverance and covenant-making is his, not theirs' (Hays, *Echoes*, p. 79; cf. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 339; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, pp. 129-30).

38. It may be that Paul's adoption of the vertical contrast was influenced by Ps. 107.26 (106.26), which poetically describes a divinely provoked experience on horrible storm-tossed seas as one of going up to the heavens and down to the abyss (ἀναβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν ἀβύσσων).

39. J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (WBC 38b; Dallas: Word, 2002), p. 606. So also, T. R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT, 6; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), p. 559, who provides a helpful list of evidence to the effect that 'the sea and the abyss were closely identified in Jewish thought': Gen. 1.2; 7.11; 8.2; Deut. 33.13; Job 28.14; 38.16; Ps. 71.20; Prov. 3.20; 8.24; Isa. 44.27; 51.10; 63.12-13; Ezek. 26.19; 31.4, 15; Amos 7.4; Jon. 2.3-10 LXX, esp. 3-4, 6; Hab. 3.10; Sir. 24.5-6, 29; 43.23.

the obedience of faith'.⁴⁰ Ellis sees the key not in the theology of the word, but in the theology of God's eschatological work in the heart, since 'Deut. 30.6 speaks of the "circumcision of the heart", which Jer. 31.31 identifies with the New Covenant. Deut. 30.11-14 does not merely concern the "location" of the law but an attitude towards it, in which they love the Lord God "with all their heart" (Deut. 30.6, 10, 16)'. He thinks 'Paul sees implicit in this an attitude of faith, which alone can fulfil the law (cf. Rom. 8.4), and so applies the principle to his own day.'⁴¹

Deut. 30.1-14 moves back and forth between the present, the near future and the distant future. These different temporal orientations distinguish between the present moment, in which Israel is challenged to keep God's 'near' and accessible commandments, and two different future contexts: the first in which judgement would come on the community for not keeping the commandments⁴² and a second in which God would transform the heart of his people so that their obedience would be a natural and easy thing (again?). The curse and death did not come on Israel immediately, but in time, along with a deafness and blindness that reflected uncircumcised hearts. The nearness of God's presence and word at the time of Moses' speech may have served as an empowering presence which led to the commandment not being too hard for the people. Moses looks forward to a future day when God's presence and word would be restored to his people and they would love him and obey him again. That would come about after they had returned to God and seen the end of their exile. Paul seems to understand that God himself has turned his chosen people's hearts back to him through the death and resurrection of Christ (that one, world-transforming, act of obedience) and the proclamation of the same.⁴³

40. Hays, *Echoes*, p. 163, citing D. O. Via, Jr, *Kerygma and Comedy in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 62-3.

41. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957), p. 123 n. 1.

42. Perhaps as evidence that God's word had somehow become less near and accessible since it was originally given, although Paul seems to suggest in Rom. 5.12-21; 7.14-25 that the problem goes back to the death into which Adam ushered humanity in the beginning.

43. Deuteronomy's theology of restoration based on turning back to God in obedience is hardly absent from Paul's theology. But Christ's own obedience is understood to be the key that makes it possible for his people to turn to God in obedience. In 2 Cor. 3.16-17 Paul says a veil is removed whenever a Jew turns to the Lord (ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον). Similarly, in 1 Thess. 1.9 Paul describes the conversion of the Thessalonians in terms of turning to God (ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεόν), although here gentile conversions are in mind. Paul also uses the language of turning to describe turning away from God in ways which suggest the same people had previously turned to him (e.g., Galatians 1.6; 4.9). The theme of obedience is also not lacking in Paul's theology. In fact, Romans begins and ends with the theme of the 'obedience of faith' (1.5; 16.26). Within the letter he speaks of what God has accomplished through him 'to bring the Gentiles to obedience' (15.18). In 6.16 he speaks of 'obedience leading to righteousness' (or possibly to 'justification'; δικαιοσύνη). Paul's message has to do with obedience from the heart (6.17) to the truth (Rom. 2.8; Gal. 5.7), the gospel (Rom. 10.16; 2 Thess. 1.8), or Christ (2 Cor. 10.5-6). It is Christ's own obedience which provides the key to the righteousness (and obedience) of his people (5.19; cf. Phil. 2.8).

If the main point of Deut. 30.11-14 is that God's commandments were not difficult to find and obey, Paul wants to affirm that the same may also be said for the gospel message that he preaches (perhaps he would say, 'how much more ...').

Rom. 10.19/Deut. 32.21 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 32.21 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 10.19</i>
They provoked me to jealousy with what is not a god; they angered me with their idols. I will provoke them to jealousy with that which is not a nation; I will anger them by means of a foolish nation.	But I ask, did Israel not know? First Moses says, 'I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is not a nation; I will anger you by means of a foolish nation.'

This quotation is embedded within a series of quotations (from Isa. 52.7; 53.1; Ps.18.5 [19.5]; Isa. 65.1-2) dealing with the contrasting responses to the gospel among Jews (who have been generally unresponsive) and Gentiles (many of whom have been responsive). Stanley points out that in Rom. 10.19 'the focus of Paul's argument shifts from the universal availability of the message of salvation (10.5-18) to the contrasting response of Jews and Gentiles to the gospel message (10.19-11.36). The quotation in Rom. 10.19b thus occupies a key place in the structure of Rom. 10-11.' The quotation, then, does not merely supply a 'biblical justification for the statement in v. 19a' but it 'actually foreshadows the position that Paul will develop in fuller terms throughout the whole of chapter 11'.⁴⁴

The main storyline seems to be provided by the quotes from Isaiah (which come in canonical order), with support in the middle from the Psalm and Deuteronomy 32. Paul's association between Deut. 32.21 and Isaiah 65 may have been encouraged by the fact that the Hebrew word for 'provoke to anger' (פָּעַל) found in the former text also appears in Isa. 65.3 (the verse following the two he quotes immediately after Deut. 32.21). The only significant difference between Paul's quotation and the LXX text is that Paul changes the two third person plural pronouns ('them'; αὐτούς) to second person plural pronouns ('you'; ὑμεῖς). Grammatical changes of person, number, tense, mood, etc. were quite common in ancient quotations.⁴⁵ Stanley suggests the 'element of rhetorical intensification that results from framing the citation as an apostrophe to Israel highlights for the hearer the important place of this verse in the following discussion'.⁴⁶

44. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, pp. 143-4.

45. See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 343 (The evidence collected by Stanley calls into question the suggestion of E. E. Ellis (*Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993], p. 177) and others that such changes are indications that a 'pesher technique' is at work. Koch and R. Bell argue the change was made because the third person pronoun was used in the previous verse with a different referent in Paul's citation of Ps. 18.5 LXX. 'Paul therefore changes the pronoun in 10.19 to make it clear that the object has changed and that he is now referring to Israel' (R. H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11* [WUNT, 2.63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994]), p. 96; cf. Koch, *Die Schrift*, p. 110.

46. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 144. Watson (*Paul and the Hermeneutics of*

Stanley takes issue with Ross Wagner, who ‘believes that Paul was drawing on the message of hope and restoration that comes at the end of Deut 32 rather than the language of judgment that fills the previous verses’.⁴⁷ ‘The verse that Paul chose to quote in Rom. 10.19 appears in the middle of a “judgment” passage that runs for at least 24 verses in our modern versions (Deut. 32.15–38). For the “informed audience”, the language of divine judgment against Israel would have dominated the horizon, regardless of Paul’s intentions.’⁴⁸ Like many other poetic and prophetic texts of the Old Testament, this passage moves from judgement to salvation and that pattern was common enough that Paul’s readers might have expected it. The recognition that the Deuteronomy text predicts that judgement will fall on Israel need not be understood to conflict with the fact that that is not thought to be the end of the story, or even where this particular passage leaves off. After Israel suffers judgement there will be judgement for their (and God’s) enemies and deliverance for Israel.⁴⁹ ‘Paul draws from Deuteronomy the idea that God has transferred his favour from Israel to the “foolish nation”, and that this naturally arouses Israel’s “jealousy”. Yet this jealousy is overcome as soon as it arises, for it is nothing other than the recognition of the fulfilment of Israel’s ancestral blessings in the midst of the Gentile world – and to recognize this is already to participate in it and so to be ‘saved’.’⁵⁰

Rom. 11.8/Deut. 29.3(4)/Isa. 29.10 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 29.3 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 11.7–8</i>
And the Lord God has not given you a heart to know, eyes to see and ears to hear, up to this day.	What then? That which Israel sought, it failed to obtain. The elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened. As it is written, ‘God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that would not see and ears that would not hear, up to our very day.’

Faith, p. 447 n. 60) suggests Paul’s use of ‘you’ rather than ‘them’ may ‘suggest that the generation has now arrived for whom the Song was once written (for the Song’s orientation towards the future, cf. Deut. 31.16–21)’. This may be the case, although it would seem that the point could have been made more clearly by changing the verbs from the future tense to present (‘I am provoking/angering them’).

47. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, p. 163 n. 55, referring to J. R. Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 190–205 (cf. esp. pp. 197–8). It should be pointed out that Wagner gives significant attention to the motif of Israel’s apostasy and judgement (pp. 194–6).

48. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, p. 163 n. 55.

49. And, if we are allowed to consider a broader narrative horizon, that judgement of Gentiles and deliverance of Israel need not be the end of the story either, but perhaps all the families of the earth will eventually experience the blessings associated with Israel’s redemption. Paul seems to be following the lead of other ‘informed audiences’ (such as the LXX translators) in reading Deut. 32.43 in this way. See on Rom. 15.10.

50. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 448. For a full discussion of the jealousy motif in Romans, see Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy*, pp. 81–166.

Paul presents a rewritten version of Deut. 29.4 [29.3 LXX], with the help of Isa. 29.10, which provides the expression ‘spirit of stupor’.⁵¹ The new version transforms a people who had *not* been given receptive hearts, eyes and ears to a people who *had* been given a spirit of stupor and, with it, unreceptive eyes and ears. Watson points out that ‘[r]ather than negating “a heart to know” ... Paul replaces this with the more vivid Isaianic “spirit of sleep”, which fits well with the image of unseeing eyes and unhearing ears’.⁵² Moreover, it seems that for Paul ‘the Israel of his own day is in exactly the same situation as the Israel addressed by Moses in the land of Moab’.⁵³ He thinks the broader context of Deuteronomy 29 may have provided Paul with some justification for this understanding, since Moses ‘announces that the covenant in the land of Moab includes not only ‘those who are here with us this day before the Lord our God’ but also ‘those who are not with us this day’ (Deut. 29.14; cf. 5.3).⁵⁴

Rom. 12.19/Deut. 32.35 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 32.35 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 12.19</i>
In the day of vengeance I will repay, on the occasion when their foot gets tripped up; for the day of their destruction is near and those things which have been prepared for you are at hand.	Do not avenge yourselves, beloved, but leave room for God’s wrath, for it is written, ‘vengeance is mine, I will repay’ says the Lord.

In the midst of a passage dedicated to directions for living in Christian community Paul cites Deut. 32.35 in support of one of several exhortations dealing with the proper Christian response to being mistreated by others (including those who persecute you [12.14], those who dish out evil [v. 17], and one’s enemies [v. 20]). Verse 20 is presented in contrast with this verse so as to suggest that this verse addresses the way one should not deal with one’s enemies (and why). In Deut. 32.35 God promises to repay Israel’s enemies with divine vengeance. Paul follows early Jewish tradition in applying this promise to personal offences suffered at the hand of ungodly neighbours and enemies (cf. 1QS X.17-18; CD IX.2-5; *T. Gad* 6.7; 2 *Enoch* 50.4; Ps. Phoc. 77).⁵⁵ This is now applied even to Gentile believers so that ‘here again we see the effect of Christianity’s redefining the

51. J. R. Wagner, ‘Isaiah in Romans and Galatians’, in S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken (eds), *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2005), p. 125, suggests that ‘[b]y means of Isaiah’s words, “a spirit of stupor”, Paul transmutes Moses’ complaint that God had not yet granted Israel an understanding heart into the much stronger claim that God has directly caused Israel’s spiritual insensibility’.

52. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 434.

53. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 435.

54. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 436.

55. Watson’s suggestion that we might ‘detect here a subtle marginalizing of the Song’s teaching on the divine vengeance’ since it functions ‘as part of a prohibition of revenge’ (*Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 450 emphasis original) seems to go directly against the thrust of the text, which bases the prohibition of human revenge precisely on the confidence that God will vindicate them and that the abstention from human revenge leaves ‘room for God’s wrath’.

boundaries of the people of God as resulting in a greater openness and wider application of this principle'.⁵⁶

Paul's rendering of Deut. 32.35 comes closer to what we find in the MT ('vengeance is mine, and recompense'; לִי נִקְמָה וְשָׁלוֹם) than to the LXX ('in the day of judgement I will repay'; ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω). Stanley points out that the similarities between Rom. 12.19, the texts of Symmachus and the Aramaic Targums to Deut. 32.35 suggest an underlying Hebrew text such as לִי נִקְמָה וְשָׁלוֹם ('vengeance is mine and I will repay').⁵⁷ The concluding 'says the Lord' serves to distinguish the Deuteronomy quotation from the (non-prophetic) citation of Prov. 25.21-2 which immediately follows.⁵⁸

Rom. 13.8-10/Deut. 5.17-19, 21 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 5.17-21 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 13.8-10</i>
You must not commit adultery. You must not murder. You must not steal. You must not bear false witness against your neighbour. You must not covet your neighbour's wife. You must not covet your neighbour's house, his field, his male servant, his female servant, his ox, his donkey, his pack animal, or anything else that belongs to your neighbour.	Owe no one anything, except to love one another, for the one who loves another has fulfilled the Law. For the commandments, 'You must not commit adultery. You must not murder. You must not steal. You must not covet', and any other commandment, are summed up in this one: 'You must love your neighbour as yourself.' Love does no wrong to a neighbour. Therefore love is the fulfilment of the Law.

In the midst of a series of directions for living out Christian community, Paul develops the theme of fulfilling one's obligations, including the unending obligation to love each other. The citation of Deut. 5.17-19, 21 is followed by a citation from Lev. 19.18, with both citations being sandwiched between twin assertions that the practice of love fulfils the Law (Rom. 13.8b, 10b).

The order of the commandments given by Paul (adultery, murder, stealing) is the order found in the presentation of Deut. 5.17-19 in ms B. It is also the order given in the Nash Papyrus, Philo, Mk 10.19 (ms A), Luke 18.20 and James 2.1.⁵⁹ Paul may think of Deut. 5.17-19 as summarizing the second table of the Decalogue (if he thinks of it as divided into two sets of commandments).⁶⁰ Paul leaves out the prohibition against giving false testimony (Deut. 5.20) and also abbreviates the

56. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, p. 750.

57. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 172. He points out that Koch has followed an older tradition which suggested Paul and the other texts are based on 'a common oral tradition in which the wording of Deut 32.35 had taken on something of a proverbial usage' (*Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 172, citing Koch, *Die Schrift*, pp. 77-8, 95).

58. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 449.

59. The order given in the MT in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, including 4QDeut^a and ms A of Deuteronomy LXX and numerous other texts is murder-adultery-stealing. The order adultery-stealing-murder is found in ms B of Exodus LXX and in Mk 7.21-22 in A and B (see Loader, *The Septuagint*, pp. 6-8).

60. So also Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 311.

prohibition against coveting. Of course, his reference to ‘any other commandment’ makes it clear ‘that he is offering only a selection from the Decalogue’.⁶¹ The abbreviation of Deut. 5.21, which summarizes the final commandments in terms of a general prohibition against coveting, is in keeping with Hellenistic Jewish tradition.⁶² By utilizing the abbreviated version of Deut. 5.21, Paul’s selection of commandments from the Decalogue consists of a series of four simple two-word prohibitions (each merely consisting of a negated verb).

Paul does not actually exhort the Roman believers to keep the Decalogue, but he does clearly expect that they will obey the love command of Lev. 19.18, which he says represents the very heart of all of the commands in Scripture, and thereby avoid transgressing these other commands as well.

Rom. 15.10/Deut. 32.43 (quotation)

<i>Deut. 32.43 LXX</i>	<i>Rom. 15.10</i>
Rejoice, O heavens, with him, and let all the sons of God worship him. Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people, and let all the angels of God renew their strength in him; for he will avenge the blood of his sons, and he will take revenge, and repay his enemies with their penalty, and he will repay those who hate; and the Lord will cleanse the land of his people.	And again it says, ‘Rejoice, Gentiles, with his people.’

This quotation from Deuteronomy is nestled between quotations of 2 Sam. 22.50 = Ps. 18.49 (17.50), Ps. 117.1 (116.1), and Isa. 11.10. That is, his quotation from the Torah is accompanied by another from the Prophets and two from the Writings. What all these quotations have in common and led Paul to cite them all here is the positive ways in which each one speaks of ‘the eschatological consummation in which Gentiles join in the worship of Israel’s God’.⁶³

Paul provides a verbatim quotation from Deut. 32.43 LXX, but the LXX is quite different from the MT here. Rather than four lines, as in the MT, we have eight lines, with an even greater stress on heavenly rejoicing. The part that Paul quotes from the LXX reads ‘Praise his people, O nations!’ or ‘Make his people shout out for joy, O nations!’ in the MT. The Hebrew consonants for ‘people’ (עַם) can also be read as ‘with’ and the LXX has given the word a ‘double reading’, incorporating both potential meanings, so that the Hebrew ‘his people’ (עַמּוֹ) has been read ‘with his people’.⁶⁴ Thus the LXX reading reflects a much more positive attitude towards the Gentiles than that which is found in the MT,⁶⁵ one which serves much

61. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 175, citing Koch, *Die Schrift*, pp. 116–17.
62. See Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 176, citing Koch, *Die Schrift*, pp. 117, and the discussion above on Rom. 7.7.
63. Hays, *Echoes*, p. 71.
64. See Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, p. 316 n. 36.
65. Wagner (*Heralds*, p. 316 n. 36) points out that Targum Neofiti interprets Deut. 32.43 in a manner similar to that of the LXX.

more effectively to reinforce Paul's point about Jews and Gentiles worshipping God together as members of his eschatological community.⁶⁶ While explanations for how the LXX reading came to differ so markedly from the MT (neither of which is likely to reflect the original reading) are complicated,⁶⁷ it seems clear that the reading of the LXX reflects not merely a translation of an earlier Hebrew text of Deuteronomy, but a reading which is influenced by, and motivated to reinforce, other Old Testament texts (quite possibly including the others which Paul cites in this same context⁶⁸) which point to a future in which the redemption of Israel results in the redemption of the rest of the world as well.⁶⁹ Watson rightly points out that 'Paul notes the Song's testimony to the divine judgment (Rom. 12.19)' but 'is much more interested in its testimony to universal reconciliation' seeing that 'beyond the jealousy and the hostility [and, one might add, beyond the judgment of both Jews and Gentiles], Gentiles and Jews will together praise the one God of Israel'.⁷⁰

Paul's Construal of Deuteronomy in Galatians and Romans

The most ambitious and provocative construal of Deuteronomy in Paul's theology is that of Francis Watson. Watson argues that Paul finds two narrative endings in Deuteronomy, one which highlights the curse motif of chs 27–30 and the other in the Song of Moses in which we find 'Moses' final prophetic insight into God's unconditional, all comprehending saving action'.⁷¹ Leviticus indicates that the way to life is through the Law and Deuteronomy 30 still seems to indicate that a return to faithful keeping of the Law is the key to moving from Israel's experience of the Law's curse to their promised experience of eschatological blessing. Paul,

66. Cf. Dunn, *Romans* 9–16, p. 849.

67. For three different explanations see Wagner, *Heralds*, p. 316 n. 36; Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, pp. 450–51; and W. F. Albright, 'New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible', *BASOR* 140 (1955), pp. 32–3.

68. Stanley (*Paul and the Language of Scripture*, p. 181) is probably right to suggest that Paul's use of this short excerpt referring to Gentiles praising God 'lends support to the notion that Paul regularly made notes of potentially useful verses in the course of his own personal study of Scripture'.

69. Wagner (*Heralds*, p. 316) argues 'Deuteronomy 32.43 fits perfectly within the scriptural catena in Romans 15, for it invites the Gentiles to rejoice together with Israel in the salvation God has wrought for the entire world. At the same time, Paul's citation of this text provides a deeply satisfying conclusion to his reading of Moses' Song in Romans 9–11. There, Paul appealed to Deuteronomy 32.21 in order to demonstrate that Israel's present resistance to the gospel is an integral part of God's plan to effect the salvation of the Gentiles and, in the end, to redeem Israel as well.'

70. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 452. Wagner (*Heralds*, p. 317 n. 38) reminds us that 'although Moses' Song depicts God's imminent vengeance on his enemies in chilling detail, it never identifies these enemies as "the Gentiles" per se. Instead of ἔθνη, the poet uses the terms οἱ ἐχθροί, οἱ ὑπεναντίοι and οἱ μισοῦντές με (Deut. 32.27, 41–3). In Deut. 32.28 LXX, the poet castigates Israel's enemies as ἔθνον ἀπολωλεκὸν βουλήν (cf. 32.21, 31), but this does not constitute a condemnation of τὰ ἔθνη as a whole'.

71. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 470.

in Watson's view, sees this as part of an internal conflict within the Scripture itself, which, in different places, provides opposing accounts of God's plan of redemption, leading him to adopt an antithetical hermeneutic which rejects the teaching of some texts (such as Lev. 18.5) and affirms that of others (such as Hab. 2.4).

Deuteronomy 30 anticipates a return to God as 'a matter of appropriate *human* action' while on the basis of the Song of Moses Paul sees it as 'a matter of definitive, unsurpassable *divine* saving action, which reorients human action towards itself and so represents a breach with the law'.⁷² The antithesis between human and divine action is not absolute since 'the divine action in Christ intends the human action of faith that corresponds to it and acknowledges it'.⁷³ It seems unlikely, however, that Paul finds two opposing abstract and static approaches to redemption in Scripture, two contradictory voices, one of which must be rejected and the other upheld. If we grant that Paul perceives that Christ's coming has brought about the transition from curse to blessing that was anticipated in Deuteronomy 30 in a surprising way, it opens up the possibility that Paul views some texts as reflecting divine guidance and instruction for the times before the coming of Christ and others provide clues for the situation in which Paul's readers find themselves as believers in Christ. That was then, this is now (Rom. 10.4).

Paul makes it clear that justification cannot (any longer) possibly be through the Law, since that would mean Christ's death to bring it about would have been in vain (Gal. 2.21). The point in Gal. 4.4-5 about Christ's humanity and its importance for the achieving of redemption for those under the Law (as well as for the adoption of Jews and Gentiles as sons of God), along with Paul's statements about Christ's obedience in Rom. 5.18-19 and Phil. 2.8 (both passages echoing or alluding to *Adam's* disobedience), should serve as reminders that for Paul it is not simply 'the divine action in Christ' which 'intends the human action of faith that corresponds to it and acknowledges it', but rather that Christ's is also a *human* action of righteous obedience to God which achieves the restoration which 'intends the [equally] human action of faith that corresponds to it and acknowledges it'. It is (not merely, *but crucially*) the man Jesus Christ whose obedience and vindication have brought about the transition from curse to blessing, from death to life, that is anticipated in Deuteronomy 30 (Rom. 10.6-9).

In Paul's view, the surprising way in which this has been achieved in Christ points to the conclusion that the obedience and slavery to righteousness which is expected of the believer works itself out differently in the life of the Christian believer (as an 'obedience of faith') than Paul's opponents hold. According to Watson, Paul thinks 'the non-Christian Israel of his own day is characterized by the ever-renewed attempt to enact the return to the Law by zealous practice of the Law's works. This is the theological programme of Deuteronomy 30, and, from a Pauline perspective, its failure is confirmed by the simple fact that God has chosen

72. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 464.

73. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 464.

to act differently'.⁷⁴ Although Paul hardly spells it out in Romans or Galatians, we would argue that there are enough hints to suggest that in Paul's view God has fulfilled the theological programme of Deuteronomy 30 *through Christ himself*, and that has brought about significant implications for understanding how the realities of curse and blessing, death and life, disobedience and obedience, sin and righteousness are conceived in light of the good news of Christ's achievement.

74. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, p. 473.

Chapter 7

DEUTERONOMY IN 1 AND 2 CORINTHIANS

Brian S. Rosner

Introduction

Deuteronomy seems to play only a minor role in the Corinthian correspondence. In 1 Corinthians, out of a total of sixteen citations from Scripture, the fifth book of Moses only appears three times. In 2 Corinthians Scripture is quoted nine times with only one quotation drawn from Deuteronomy. Four quotations from Deuteronomy in twenty-nine chapters of 1 and 2 Corinthians hardly seems to be formative! Isaiah is more impressively represented with eight appearances in the two letters, bolstered by another four quotations from other prophets, namely, Jeremiah, Hosea and Ezekiel.¹ It is tempting to conclude that in 1 and 2 Corinthians, two of Paul's most ethically oriented epistles, the apostle looks to sources other than the Law for moral guidance. Allen Verhey draws this conclusion on the basis of explicit citations across Paul's letters: 'in contexts of moral exhortation ... [Paul] cited the Prophets and Wisdom more often than the Torah, and when he did appeal to the Torah it was more often to narratives than to statutes.'² One of the tasks of this chapter is to test this thesis.

In response, in terms of method, it must be recognized that an accurate assessment of the role of Deuteronomy in 1 and 2 Corinthians cannot be formed simply by noticing quotations and even allusions. We need to consider how the books compare in global terms and to ascertain where they are situated in the context of the salvation history presented in the Bible. After all, any study of the relationship between the testaments is an exercise in biblical theology. Though rarely undertaken in studies of the use of the Old Testament in the New, a general comparison between Deuteronomy and 1 and 2 Corinthians will help explain the more specific connections. Without first taking this step the links with Deuteronomy will be underestimated and their hermeneutical function misconstrued.

1. These numbers are drawn from the chapters on 1 and 2 Corinthians (by B. S. Rosner and R. E. Ciampa, and P. Balla respectively) in D. A. Carson and G. Beale (eds), *Commentary on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, forthcoming 2007).

2. A. Verhey, 'Ethics: New Testament Ethics', *ISBE* 2. p. 79.

Deuteronomy and 1 and 2 Corinthians in General

In the context of the Pentateuch, the book of Deuteronomy is Moses' attempt to spell out for God's people the theological and ethical consequences of the exodus deliverance. Put another way, Deuteronomy explains the nature of an obedient response to God's grace. The collections of laws in chapters 5 and 12–26 stipulate that the LORD is to be worshipped at the place and in the way that he chooses (cf. e.g., ch. 12) and insist that nothing is to be done to defile the land, which is the place where God is encountered (cf. 12.7). In particular, God's people are to shun the idolatry (e.g., 12.1–6) and sexual immorality (e.g., 22.21; 23.2, 17–18; cf. 31.16) of the original inhabitants of the land, and they are to maintain justice and right relationships with each other. To this end, Moses appoints judges (ch. 1), calls on the people to listen to his teaching (4.1 and especially the *Shema* in 6.1ff.), marks their redemption from slavery in Egypt with the Passover commemoration (ch. 16), also celebrating it in song (ch. 32), and finally inaugurates a new covenant at Moab (29.1).

Curiously, various elements strike a pessimistic note and point beyond the book to the need for the future decisive action of God. That little can be expected from God's people is signalled in chapter 2 where they are unfavourably compared to the Moabites and Ammonites. It is also expressed throughout chapters 5–11 where repeated calls to obey or remember (e.g., 5.1, 31–33; 6.1–14; 7.12–15) suggest a negative expectation. Israel's spiritual incapacity is repeatedly underscored (e.g., 29.4). Nothing less than a circumcision of the heart is required which only God can perform (30.6; cf. 10.16). Moses predicts Israel's apostasy (31.16–18; 32.19–21, 26) and he himself dies outside the land (ch. 34), suggesting that there is little hope for the nation. Moses' song ends with the one reference to atonement in the entire book (32.43). The new covenant teaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in which the problem of the human heart is resolved, is thus anticipated in Deuteronomy.³

In many ways the theological or canonical setting of 1 and 2 Corinthians is analogous to that of Deuteronomy, with some major twists. Paul, like Moses, seeks to spell out for the new people of God the theological and ethical consequences of the act of salvation that is an exodus. He too wishes to explain the nature of an obedient response to God's grace. The apostle stops short of calling himself a second Moses, but he does compare and contrast his role as a 'minister of the new covenant' with that of Moses in 2 Corinthians 3. He follows the pattern of Moses appointing judges in Deuteronomy 1 (and Exodus 18) in 1 Cor. 6.1–6 when he tells the Corinthians to appoint wise and righteous laity to decide lesser civil cases

3. I owe much of this reading of Deuteronomy to J. G. Millar, *Now Choose Life: Theology and Ethics in Deuteronomy* (Leicester: IVP, 1998); for a summary see Millar, 'Deuteronomy', *NDBT*, pp. 159–65. Cf. J. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), who argues that the Pentateuch as a whole presents the way of Abraham, who lived by faith before the Law, as better than that of Moses, who failed to keep the Law once it was given.

of Law between their brothers.⁴ Also like Moses, Paul uses Exodus/Passover/Unleavened Bread imagery as a basis for his moral exhortation (e.g., 1 Cor. 5.6-8; 11.17-24). If in Deuteronomy repeated reference is made to 'the place which the Lord your God will choose to have people call upon his name' (cf. LXX Deut. 12.11, 21, 26; 14.23-24; 16.2, 6, 11; 17.8, 10; 26.2), rather than refer to that place, Paul says the Corinthians are among those who call on the name of our Lord 'in every place' (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) (1 Cor. 1.2).⁵

Two of Paul's main moral emphases in 1 Corinthians are, like Deuteronomy, the shunning of the sexual immorality and idolatry of the nations/Gentiles. In fact, as I have argued elsewhere (with Roy E. Ciampa),⁶ Paul's opposition to these two vices structures the central section of the letter, where most of the links with Deuteronomy are to be found. In chapters 5-7, Paul first opposes various forms of πορνεία (chs 5-6) before giving a positive treatment of marriage and sexual relationships (ch. 7). In chapters 8-14, he deals with the issue of idolatry, beginning with a negative treatment of its manifestations in Corinth (chs 8-10) and then moving to a more positive treatment of the proper worship of the one true God (chs 11-14). Strategically placed imperatives confirm these emphases: With reference to πορνεία, Paul tells the Corinthians to 'flee sexual immorality' (6.18) and to 'glorify God in your body' (6.20); with respect to εἰδωλολατρία, he says to 'flee idolatry' (10.14) and to do everything 'to the glory of God' (10.31). Paul explicitly ties the two sins to Old Testament background in his discussion of Israel's failures in 1 Cor. 10.7-8 and their inclusion in a vice list in 5.9-11, as shown below, derives from the Deuteronomic expulsion formula quoted in 5.13. 2 Corinthians carries forward this stress on the dangers of idolatry (2 Cor. 6.16-7.1) and sexual immorality (2 Cor. 12.19-21).

Other points of comparison between Deuteronomy and 1 and 2 Corinthians that fall short of the status of quotation or allusion also point to Paul's high regard for the themes of Deuteronomy. These include Paul's emphasis in 1 Corinthians 2.6-16 on the inability of the human being to grasp spiritual truth without the aid of God's Spirit, the association of healing with the restoration of God's people (Deut. 32.39; 1 Cor. 12.9), the Passover emphasis on remembering (Deut. 16.3; 1 Cor. 11.24-26), the association of suffering with the Passover (Deut. 16.3, 'the bread of affliction'; 1 Cor. 11.23-26) and the notion of 'Israel according to the

4. See B. S. Rosner, *Paul, Scripture, and Ethics: A Study of 1 Corinthians 5-7* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), ch. 4.

5. In the New Testament this expression is only found in the Pauline corpus (1 Cor. 1.2; 2 Cor. 2.14; 1 Thess. 1.8; 1 Tim. 2.8) and Paul uses it to refer to the worship of God that is spreading around the world through his ministry to the Gentiles. It echoes Mal. 1.11 LXX, which (in a context of frustration over the way the Lord is being worshipped in Jerusalem) prophesies a future time when God would be worshipped by Gentiles 'in every place': 'From the rising of the sun until its setting my name will be glorified among the Gentiles and in every place (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) incense is offered to my name and a pure offering, for my name is great among the Gentiles, says the Lord Almighty'. For its significance in 1 Corinthians, see R. E. Ciampa and B. S. Rosner, 'The Structure and Argument of 1 Corinthians: A Biblical/Jewish Approach', *NTS* 52 (2006), pp. 205-18.

6. Ciampa and Rosner, 'The Structure and Argument of 1 Corinthians'. For a full defence see our forthcoming 1 Corinthians Pillar commentary (Eerdmans).

flesh' (1 Cor. 10.18) implying a distinction between a true and only nominal Israel (Deut. 10.16).

In one sense, it is not only the Corinthian epistles that look back to Deuteronomy, but Deuteronomy that anticipates 1 and 2 Corinthians. The 'later days', to which Deut. 4.30 refers, 'when you will return to the Lord your God and obey him', of which the Hebrew Prophets also speak,⁷ is the time in which Paul locates the church of God in Corinth: the Corinthian believers are those 'on whom the fulfilment of the ages has come' (1 Cor. 10.11). Paul writes as a minister of the new covenant, a covenant that Deuteronomy does not name but ultimately points forward to.

Quotations from and Allusions to Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians

The four main sections of 1 Corinthians address divisions and wisdom (chs 1–4), sexuality (chs 5–7), worship (chs 8–14), and resurrection and consummation (ch. 15). The six quotations of Scripture in the first section form the backbone of the discussion and are all drawn from passages that 'depict God as one who acts to judge and save his people in ways that defy human imagination'.⁸ Three are from Isaiah and one each from other books. The final section cites five texts in the space of half a chapter (15.27–55), none of which comes from Deuteronomy. The vast majority of quotations of and also allusions to Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians appear in chapters 5–14, where Paul is most directly concerned with regulating the conduct of the church.

Deut. 17.7, etc. in 1 Cor. 5.13

In 1 Cor. 5.13 there is a quotation of a frequent expression of the LXX of Deuteronomy, where it is used on five occasions to signal the execution of a variety of offenders (17.7; 19.19; 21.21; 22.21; 24.7; cf. 13.5; Judg. 20.13): 'Expel the wicked man from among you.' The texts in LXX Deuteronomy and 1 Corinthians are identical, apart from changes that suit Paul's epistolary context: the verb changes from a singular future indicative to a plural aorist imperative. Even though there is no introductory formula (cf. 'For it is written in the Law of Moses' in 9.9), 'expel' (ἐξόρατε) occurs only here in the New Testament, suggesting Paul's intentional and explicit use of the words from Deuteronomy. Perhaps Paul chose not to introduce the quotation formally so as not to disturb the urgent tone of his instructions. The same command appears in other ways throughout the chapter: see vv. 2, 5, 7 and 11. The command to expel the sinner in v. 13b closes Paul's instructions on the case of the incestuous man in an unambiguous and uncompromising way.

7. Cf. Jer. 23.20; 30.24; 48.47; 49.39; Ezek. 38.16; Dan. 2.28; 10.14; Hos. 3.5.

8. R. B. Hays, 'The Conversion of the Imagination: Scripture and Eschatology in 1 Corinthians', *NTS* 45 (1999), pp. 402–3.

The use of Deut. 17.7, etc. in 1 Cor. 5.13 is one of the most impressive examples of the crucial nature of Old Testament context in the study of the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament. There is good evidence that the contexts of all six appearances of the Deuteronomic expulsion formula in their original contexts have exerted an influence on Paul's instructions across the chapter. The expulsion formulae involving the verb 'to utterly remove'⁹ in Deuteronomy are associated with three motifs. First, they are connected to the idea of a covenant. Specifically, people are expelled in Deuteronomy because of a breach of the covenant. Deut. 17.7 makes this clear where the expulsion takes place because a person has 'violated the covenant' of Israel's God (17.2). In Joshua 7, commenting on Achan's sin, v. 15 states: 'He who is caught with the devoted things shall be destroyed ... He has violated the covenant of the LORD.' In the Damascus Document expulsion from the community for a variety of offences is also consistently associated with the covenant. The covenant motif informs the vice list of 1 Cor. 5.11. In v. 10 Paul lists four examples of people with whom social contact in the world is not to be avoided. Then in v. 11 he gives a representative list of six sinners that the church is to judge (5.12b) in terms of withdrawal of social integration. This list of sinners is in one sense a catalogue of covenantal norms which, when broken, automatically exclude the offender. The six sins form a remarkable parallel to the sins Deuteronomy insists deserve exclusion from the community according to the Deuteronomic formula, 'Expel the wicked man from among you', which Paul quotes in 5.13.¹⁰

1 Cor. 5.11	Deuteronomy
Sexually immoral	promiscuity, adultery (22.21-22, 30)
Greedy	(no parallel, but paired with 'robber' in 1 Cor. 5.9)
Idolater	idolatry (13.1-5; 17.2-7)
Reviler	malicious false testimony (19.16-19)
Drunkard	rebellious drunken son (21.18-21)
Robber	kidnapping, slave-trading (24.7; LXX uses the noun κλέπτης, 'thief')

A second reason for expulsion in this material is the deterrence of a further breach of the covenant in the community. For example, Deut. 19.19b-20a states: 'You must purge the evil from among you. The rest of the people will hear of this and be afraid and never again will such an evil thing be done in Israel.' The dissuasion to sin further is a motive for expulsion in 13.12-18; 17.2-7, 12-13; 21.18-21. In such formulae, the offender is expelled to maintain Israel's obedience to the demands of the covenant. Paul's comments about the infectious nature of leaven in 5.6-8, a metaphorical reference to the incestuous man, also warn of the danger of his sin spreading. Paul explains that although only a 'little' part of the church, the evil would inevitably, slowly but surely, spread through the whole community,

9. BDB, 129.3.

10. Rosner, *Paul, Scripture and Ethics*, pp. 68-70; R. B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1997), p. 88.

if left unchecked. Reminiscent of Deuteronomy, Paul believes that the example of wilful sin in the church can have serious effects. Like leaven in bread, unchecked sin in the church spreads through the whole and irretrievably changes it.

A third motif is associated with the occurrences of the 'utterly remove' formulae in Deut. 19.13 and 21.9. In both cases, the expression, 'you must rid Israel of the guilt of innocent blood', is the penalty for the crime of murder. That 'blood guilt' touches the whole community is made clear in Deut. 19.13 where the motivation for the expulsion is 'so that it may go well with *you* [i.e., the nation]' (cf. Deut. 21.8). The notion of 'blood guilt' introduces the motif of corporate responsibility, in which the community is held responsible for the sin of an individual, a thought suggested by the call of 1 Cor. 5.2 for the church to 'mourn' over the sin of their erring member.

Paul's rebuke of Corinthian arrogance and his call for the body to show passionate grief that will lead to action in v. 2 indicates that he considered the Corinthians in some sense implicated in the offence of the sinner. The verb 'to grieve', *πενθεῖν*, is used in the New Testament of mourning over the death of a loved one (Mt. 9.15; Mk 16.10; cf. Gen. 50.10) and for grief over a great loss (Rev. 18.11, 15, 19). Hence many commentators understand Paul to be enjoining a mourning over the impending loss of the sinning brother. However, the word is only used elsewhere by Paul in 2 Cor. 12.21 (cf. Jas 4.9; 1 Clem. 2.6), where its sense closely parallels the concept of godly sorrow or repentance. Its use in the LXX also favours this interpretation, where the word occurs six times with reference to sin, five of which refer to sorrow over the sins of others (Ezra 10.6; Neh. 1.4; 1 Esd. 8.72; 9.2 and Dan. 10.2).

Paul's use of the Deuteronomic expulsion formula at the end of 1 Corinthians 5, along with connecting with the vice list of v. 11 (see above), draws together the threads of covenant and corporate responsibility which run through the passage and complements Paul's own authority with that of Scripture.

Allusions to Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians 5

In addition to the quotation of the expulsion formula in 5.13, three further links with Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians 5 merit attention. They concern the grounds for Paul's opposition to incest (v. 2), the forum for judgement (v. 4) and the reason the man's flesh must be 'destroyed' (v. 5).

Whether with one's mother or with the wife of one's father, incest is prohibited in the Old Testament (and early Judaism). Many commentators mention Lev. 18.8 and 20.11 as the critical background to Paul's decision to expel the sinner, noting the shared terminology of 'woman' and 'father' (v. 2). Sexual intercourse with the 'wife' of one's father is also condemned in Gen. 49.4 (see 35.22) and Ezek. 22.10-11. However, two verses in Deuteronomy are just as likely to have influenced Paul. Deut. 27.20, 'cursed is the man who sleeps with his father's wife', is perhaps the reason Paul 'curses' the sinner in 1 Corinthians 5. And Deut. 23.1 (22.30), 'a man is not to marry his father's wife', may have been the impetus for Paul to quote the Deuteronomic expulsion formula in v. 13. A variation of that formula appears in Deut. 22.22 ('If a man is found sleeping with another

man's wife ... you must purge the evil from Israel'; cf. 22.24) and is presumably the penalty for the incest prohibited in Deut. 23.1 (22.30).¹¹

In 1 Cor. 5.4 the excommunication is to take place when the Corinthians 'are assembled' in the name and power of the Lord Jesus. Whatever else this scene implies it is comparable to the judgement scene of Deut. 19.16-20 which includes the command quoted in 1 Cor. 5.13b. In Deuteronomy 19 the discipline also takes place in the presence of the congregation (19.20a) and the Lord (19.17: 'in the presence of the LORD').¹²

A perennial puzzle for the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 5 is the severity of Paul's response. In particular, in v. 5, why must the man's flesh be 'destroyed'? Three groups of observations support the case for reading 1 Corinthians 5 (esp. v. 5) with 1 Cor. 3.16-17 ('Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit lives in you? If anyone destroys God's temple God will destroy him; for God's temple is holy and that is what you are') with an Old Testament temple/holiness motif in mind. In my view, the man must suffer 'destruction' because he has 'destroyed' God's holy temple, the church. First, certain features of 3.16-17 suggest its affinity with ch. 5. The characteristic of the temple to which Paul draws attention in 3.16-17 is its holiness, which carries a demand for the maintenance of purity, a thought which Paul develops in 5.6-8.

Secondly, temple imagery is highly prevalent in both Corinthian epistles. The church is identified as the 'temple of God' in 2 Cor. 6.16. In 1 Cor. 6.19 the need for sexual purity is linked to individual Christians being the temple of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, Paul associates sexual chastity with temple in 1 Cor. 6.12-20.

A third point is the observation of William Horbury that during the Second Temple period the scope of the laws of admission to the assembly found in Deut. 23.2-9 (1-8) were expanded beyond stipulations of physique and descent to include moral requirements. Biblical evidence for this evolution includes the 'entrance-torot' (Pss. 15; 24.3-5; Isa. 33.14-17), the exclusion of 'rebels' in Ezek. 20.38-40 from the future congregation, and the indictment of Israel for admitting into the sanctuary aliens who are 'uncircumcised in heart' in Ezek. 44.6-9. Josephus and Philo build upon this biblical background and 'take Deuteronomy 23 to exclude not only aliens and defective Jews, but also gravely-offending Jewish sinners'.¹³

The likelihood that Deut. 23.2-9 (1-8) played a role in the formation of Paul's thinking in 1 Corinthians 5 is increased by the fact that the previous verse in Deuteronomy addresses the very question with which Paul is engaged: 'A man is

11. Judaism maintained this Deuteronomic resolve that incest be punished: *m. Sanh.* 7.4 (incest is punishable by stoning); 9.1 and *Ker.* 1.1 (incest is one of the first offences listed for 'cutting off'); *Jub.* 33.10-13; *t. Sanh.* 10.1; CD 5 and the *Temple Scroll* LXVI. Josephus describes incest as 'the grossest of sins' and 'an outrageous crime' (*Ant.* 3.274) and of incest Philo asks, 'what form of unholiness could be more impious than this?' (*Spec.* 3.13-14; cf. 3.20-21).

12. Num. 15.35 ('the entire assembly must stone' the sabbath-breaker), 35.24 ('the assembly must judge' a case of homicide) and Lev. 24.14, 16 ('the entire assembly is to stone' a blasphemer) are comparable. The forum for the judgement of offenders is also the gathered community in 1QS VI-VII. In biblical criminal law the whole community is involved in judgement.

13. W. Horbury, 'Extirpation and Excommunication', *VT* 35 (1985), p. 26.

not to marry his father's wife; he must not dishonour his father's bed.' That Paul linked the two passages has every possibility since, as Horbury observes: 'The admission-regulations of Deut. 23.2-9 (1-8) were linked in rabbinic exegesis with 23.1 (22.30), and correspondingly understood, as by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, as marriage laws' (25). This exegesis may even have a basis in Deuteronomy. Michael Fishbane has suggested that Deut. 23.1 and 23.2-9 (1-8) are linked through the mention of the Ammonites and Moabites, who, according to Gen. 19.31-38, are the offspring of incest (Lot and his daughters).¹⁴

Allusion to Deut. 1.9-17 (and Exod. 18.13-26) in 1 Cor. 6.1-6

Paul's concern that judicial matters be settled internally in 1 Cor. 6.1-6 derives from a biblical and Jewish background. Roland de Vaux explains that in biblical times Israel had three different jurisdictions involving priests, elders, and professional judges instituted by the authority of the king.¹⁵ All three groups are mentioned in the Pentateuch and take part in judicial affairs in other parts of the Scriptures. It is the third group of judges that is relevant to 1 Cor. 6.1-6. Such judges find their prototypes in the competent laymen appointed to dispense justice by Moses upon the advice of Jethro, his father-in-law, in Exod. 18.13-26 and Deut. 1.9-17. Deut. 16.18-20 and 17.8-13 give further directions for these judges. This background sheds lights on a number of elements in 1 Corinthians 6.

The situations in which Moses in Exodus 18/Deuteronomy 1 and Paul in 1 Cor. 6.1-6 find themselves are remarkably similar. Both Moses and Paul are overwhelmed by the judicial problems of the people of God. Both leaders decide to handle the more difficult cases themselves, with the Lord's help (cf. Exod. 18.19b and 1 Cor. 5.3-5) and appoint judges to adjudicate the lesser cases (see Exod. 18.21-22; Deut. 1.15, and 1 Cor. 6.1b, 4, 5b) by deciding between their brothers. There are also impressive terminological links between 6.1-11 and Exodus 18/Deuteronomy 1 (and related passages). A total of eight terms, some of which occur rarely in both the LXX and Paul's letters, can be traced from 6.1-8 to the tradition of Moses appointing judges in the Greek Old Testament. Furthermore, verse 5b may be an echo of Deut. 1.16.¹⁶

In 6.1-6 Paul applies the lessons of Exodus 18/Deuteronomy 1 (and related passages) to the problem of lawsuits in Corinth. He follows the implications of the Moses material (because Moses was the most important biblical precedent for what he was doing), but does not find it necessary to signal his use of Scripture to the Corinthians either by quotation or allusion. Just as Moses appointed wise and righteous laity to decide lesser civil cases (including fraud) between their brothers, so also Paul rejected unrighteous judges and told the Corinthians to appoint wise laity to decide such cases between their brothers. That Paul considers 'unrighteous'

14. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 120.

15. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), I, pp. 152-5.

16. See B. S. Rosner, 'Moses Appointing Judges: An Antecedent to 1 Cor 6.1-6?', *ZNW* 82.3/4 (1991), pp. 275-8.

judges, the ἄδικοι, unsuitable, a description that simultaneously identifies them as unbelievers and as unfair as judges, is not surprising in terms of the qualifications of judges taught throughout the Old Testament, especially in Exodus 18/Deuteronomy 1 and related passages (cf. LXX Deut. 16.18-20a with four occurrences of *dik-* words).

Allusions to Deuteronomy 6 in 1 Corinthians

Perhaps the most famous text in the Hebrew Bible, next to the Decalogue, is the *Shema*. Bursting with theological and ethical implications, with its affirmation of monotheism and the command to 'love the Lord your God', the *Shema* is 'central to the whole book of Deuteronomy'.¹⁷ Evidence for its impact on 1 Corinthians can be felt in Paul's call to undistracted devotion to the Lord in 7.32-35, the emphasis on love and edification in chapters 8-14 and in the teasing out of the implications of monotheism for Paul's treatment of idolatry in 8.1-6.

In 1 Cor. 7.32-35 Paul explains that he prefers singleness to the married state because marriage makes life more complicated and can be a distraction from devotion to Christ. The priority of pleasing God in these verses may have been derived from Deuteronomy 6, which Paul alludes to in the next chapter (8.6). Martin McNamara has noted the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch's treatment of Deuteronomy 6 and its relevance to New Testament teaching on the undivided heart: 'Israel was commanded to love God "with all her heart" [Deut. 6.5]. In the targum full devotion to God is described as "a perfect heart," i.e. one completely set on God, not divided between him and created things.'¹⁸ Furthermore, in several rabbinic texts, worldly preoccupations, such as a wife, are seen as a potential distraction from the study of Torah (e.g., *'Abot R. Nat.* a. 20).

1 Corinthians 8-14 deal with the worship of the one true God, first negatively in chapters 8-10, with respect to idolatry, and then positively in chapters 11-14, in terms of true worship. Underlying Paul's instructions across the seven chapters, although unstated, is the double command to love God and your neighbour. A link between love and edification is forged in 8.1 ('love builds up') and the two concepts become distinct foci in chapters 13 and 14 respectively. Paul wants the Corinthians to do everything out of love for God and people, the latter being expressed in the desire to build up the other. If Paul is indebted to Lev. 19.18 for his emphasis on the love of one's neighbour (see Rom. 13.9-10), his emphasis on loving God is based on Deut. 6.5, a text to which he alludes in the opening verses of the section.

In 1 Corinthians 8.1-6 Paul responds to those in the church in Corinth who believed that it is acceptable to eat food sacrificed to idols. 1 Cor. 8.1 is likely a quotation from their letter to Paul (see 7.1a): 'we all have knowledge'. Apparently they based their view on an idiosyncratic interpretation of Deut. 6.4, 'The Lord our God, the Lord is one', surmising that since 'idols don't really exist' and

17. P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 169.

18. M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible – A Light on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 122-3.

'there is no God but one' (8.4) then there is no reason to fear contact with idols. Paul's response is not to address the question of knowledge primarily in terms of our knowledge of God, but to shift the focus to our love for God and his knowledge of us: 'if anyone loves God, they are known by him' (8.3). N. T. Wright notes the influence of the *Shema* here: 'Paul's references to humans loving God, as opposed to vice versa, are few and far between, and in this case at least ... the reason for the reference is that he wishes to allude to, or echo, the Jewish confession of monotheistic faith.'¹⁹ In terms of the *Shema*, 'loving God' implies a rejection of idolatry.

Paul teases out this implication in 8.5-6 where he applies the words of the primary affirmation of the *Shema*. In particular, the language of Deut. 6.4, 'the Lord our God, the Lord is one', governs Paul's wording and argument. Paul takes the key words 'Lord', 'God' and 'one' from Deut. 6.4, but he 'has glossed "God" with "the Father", and "Lord" with "Jesus Christ", adding in each case an explanatory phrase: "God" is the Father, "from whom are all things and we to him", and the "Lord" is Jesus the Messiah, "through whom are all things and we through him".'²⁰ In this way he simultaneously reaffirmed strict Jewish monotheism and embedded Christ within the very definition of that one God/Lord of Israel. Ciampa draws out the theological significance of Paul's use of the *Shema* in 1 Cor. 8.1-6:

The *Shema* was important both for its theological affirmation and its sociological function. Early Judaism rallied around the one God who had redeemed them, and their allegiance to that one God was reflected both by their worship of him and by their rejection of all other claims to deity. It is notable that Paul's Christological modification of the *Shema* comes in a passage where he hopes this statement might fulfill the very same roles that the *Shema* did in Judaism. If the Corinthians would rally together in loyalty to God the father and the Lord Jesus Christ in a way that signaled a radical rejection of all other claims to deity it would go a long way towards promoting unity within the congregation and towards maintaining a distinct identity in contrast to the pagan environment.²¹

Allusion to Deut. 24.1-4 in 1 Cor. 7.39-40

Paul makes three points regarding the termination of marriage and remarriage for the benefit of Christian widows in Corinth in 7.39-40. Peter Tomson argues that all three use 'formulations directly related to Rabbinic halakha'.²² Biblical roots are also evident, not least in Deuteronomy.

In 7.39a Paul indicates that the death of a husband terminates the marriage bond, so that the widow has the right to remarry. Deut. 24.3, with reference to remarrying a former partner after the death of one's spouse, stipulates the same provision with the words, 'if the latter husband dies'. In 7.39b Paul states that the widow may marry whomever she wishes. This is similar to *m. Gittin* 9.3, a tractate expounding the halakhic implications of Deut. 24.1-4, 'you are permitted to marry any man'. Finally, in 7.39c Paul adds the restriction, 'only in the Lord'.

19. N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), p. 127.

20. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, p. 129.

21. Rosner and Ciampa, '1 Corinthians'.

22. P. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp. 120-22.

Similar clauses were in Jewish circulation in Paul's day. For example, a Bar Kokhba divorce deed has an analogous specification: 'you may go and be married to any Jewish man you want'.²³ The exclusion of marriage to a non-Jew has its basis in Scripture (Deut. 7.3; Josh. 23.12; Ezra 9.1-4; Neh. 13.23-7).

Deut. 25.4 in 1 Cor. 9.9

Paul's surprising use of the law against muzzling the threshing ox to support his argument that the minister of the gospel is entitled to material compensation is frequently cited as a clear example of (strained) allegorical exegesis.²⁴ However, when Deut. 25.4 is read in its Old Testament context and in the light of its use in early Judaism, Paul's use of the text is better understood in terms of an argument from the lesser to the greater (*kal wa-homer* in rabbinic literature; *a fortiori* in Latin).

At first blush, 'You shall not muzzle an ox while it treads out the grain', seems disconnected from the laws surrounding it in Deuteronomy. Many Bibles and commentaries in fact head the section in which it appears: 'Miscellaneous Laws'. Yet the statutes in Deut. 24.10-25.3 do seem to have in common a concern for the fair and humane treatment of one's fellow human beings. This includes the benevolent treatment of the poor, marginalized, sojourners, orphans and widows.

Philo's discussion of Deut. 25.4 reflects this context in Deuteronomy. When the relevant section in Deuteronomy is introduced in *On the Virtues* (125-47) Philo informs the reader that he will address the extension of the same principle of behaving humanely and compassionately to all types of people, 'even to the race of irrational animals' (*Virt.* 125). According to Philo, the significance of the laws concerning the kind treatment of animals and lower forms of life is that we must do the same with humans as well (*Virt.* 160). To his mind, 'the Law [Deut. 25.4] was not given for the sake of unthinking creatures, but for the sake of those who can think and reason'.²⁵ This sentiment is remarkably similar to Paul's words in 1 Cor. 9.9-10, where he asks rhetorically: 'Is it about oxen that God is concerned? Surely he says this for us, doesn't he?'

Not dissimilarly, Josephus expounds Deut. 25.4 in *Ant.* 4.233 in connection with his discussion of the laws of gleaning (Lev. 19.9; 23.2) and those which allow people who pass through a field to pluck ears with their hands (Deut. 23.25). He treats the statute concerning work animals as related to legislation that refers to human workers. In this regard the word he uses to refer to the animals is noteworthy: one is not 'to bind the mouth of the oxen treading out the corn on the threshing floor, since it is not right to deprive our *co-workers* of the fruit' (*Ant.* 4.233).

23. DJD 2, no. 19.

24. See e.g., W. Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKKNT; 4 vols; Zurich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991-2001), II, pp. 298-300. On Jewish usage see especially the discussion in D. Instone-Brewer, '1 Corinthians 9.9-11: A Literal Interpretation of "Do not Muzzle the Ox"', *NTS* 38 (1992), pp. 554-65.

25. Philo, *Spec.* 1.260.

The Talmud's teaching on Deut. 25.4 includes the decision that men may eat from the loose produce of the field in which they work on the basis of an argument from the lesser to the greater (cf. *m. B. Meši 'a* 7.2).²⁶ The logic is that since oxen are not allowed to eat food that is still unplucked (or which is not loose) but men are, it follows that if even oxen are allowed to eat loose food, men must also be allowed to do so. The assumption is that laws like Deut. 25.4 that enjoin humanitarian care to animals are an extension of those which show similar kindness to humans. In the following discussion (*b. B. Meši 'a* 89a) Rabina argues, on the basis of the use of the word 'ox' both in Deut. 25.4 and in Deut. 5.14, that whatever applies to the muzzled (i.e., the ox and animals in general) applies to the muzzler (i.e., people) as well.

In another example of argument from the lesser to the greater, *b. Yebam. 4a* applies Deut. 25.4 metaphorically to the issue of levirate marriage, an issue that is treated in the immediately following verses in Deuteronomy (25.5-10). The view is taken that a widow is not to be forced to enter into a levirate marriage with a man she finds objectionable. If an ox is free to eat and is not to be constrained as it labours, a woman who suffers the loss of her husband is not to be constrained to marry someone against her will. To 'muzzle' her would be to force her to endure even greater hardship than she has already experienced.

In the light of the history of its interpretation, Paul's use of Deut. 25.4 in 1 Cor. 9.9 seems less odd than most commentators seem to think. Paul quotes the text²⁷ in order to bolster his argument that the Christian worker is entitled to compensation. The logic of Paul's use of Deut. 25.4 fits well with the other examples he cites in his case for material support of ministers of the gospel in 1 Cor. 9.7: Just as the soldier, shepherd and farmer rightly expect to benefit from their labours, so too the ox, and ultimately the Christian worker. In the flow of chapters 8-10 Paul is seeking to establish his own rights (9.1-14), before proceeding to point out that he relinquishes them for the sake of the gospel (9.15-27). This is a model of behaviour that he hopes the Corinthians will emulate with reference to eating food offered to idols (cf. 11.1).

The main objection to seeing an argument from the lesser to the greater in Paul's use of Deut. 25.4 concerns the translation of 1 Cor. 9.10a, which can be rendered in two ways: 'Does he not speak *entirely* for our sake?' or 'Doesn't he *surely* say it for our sake?' In other words, is Paul affirming an absolute denial of God's interest in oxen or is he just strongly asserting that God is more concerned about humans than oxen? Whereas both translations are possible on lexical grounds,²⁸ the case for an argument from the lesser to the greater is strengthened

26. See Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, pp. 125-31. He notes that Deut. 23.24 is also involved in the discussion.

27. In terms of textual matters, the MT and the LXX are in close agreement. Paul uses a different word for 'muzzle' than in the LXX that is effectively a synonym. 1 Tim. 5.18 quotes Deut. 25.4 but in exact agreement with the LXX.

28. In favour of the first is C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC, 2. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), and the second A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), and BDAG.

in the light of the argument from the greater to the lesser in v. 11: 'If a labourer may eat of a valuable crop he is working on, much more should he be allowed to eat from a less valuable crop instead.'²⁹

Either way, Paul's use of Deut. 25.4 is a clear example of Paul using the Torah as a guide for Christian conduct. To his mind this Scripture informs his conviction that Christian leaders have a right to be supported in their ministries and he expects his appeal to it to be the clinching proof in his attempt to persuade the Corinthians to his position.

Deut. 32.17 in 1 Cor. 10.20

In 1 Cor. 10.14 Paul enjoins the Corinthians to 'flee from idolatry', which in context means that he wants them not to eat food sacrificed to idols at pagan cultic meals. By way of explanation, in 1 Cor. 10.16ff. Paul discusses the religious significance of cultic meals, whether Jewish, Christian or pagan in nature. In the larger context of chapters 8–10, the question arises: if there is only one true God (see 8.4) and food sacrificed to idols is not thereby contaminated (10.19), why does Paul object to the Corinthians participating in pagan religious meals? 1 Cor. 10.20 supplies the answer by quoting Deut. 32.17.

Deuteronomy 32, the so-called Song of Moses, recounts Israel's unfaithfulness to the Lord in terms of idolatry. In v. 16 the nation, 'his [the Lord's] sons and daughters' (Deut. 32.19), is charged with having provoked the Lord to jealousy 'with their foreign gods' and 'their detestable idols'. In v. 17 this is further clarified: 'They sacrificed to demons, which are not God – gods they had not known.' The 'demons' in this context are spirits that appear in Mesopotamian texts as protectors of places and people.³⁰ Moses accuses Israel of worshipping inferior spiritual beings instead of God.

The history of the interpretation of Deut. 32.17 treats it as a touchstone of spiritual corruption. Ps. 106.37 alludes to and extends Deut. 32.17 in its indictment of Israel for sacrificing 'their own sons and daughters to demons'. Bar. 4.7 points to Israel 'sacrificing to demons and not to God' as an explanation for the exile. *I Enoch* 19.1 states that the spirits of the angels who cohabited with women (cf. Genesis 6) will lead people to offer sacrifices to demons as though they were gods. *T. Sol.* 5.5 tells of the progeny of a human mother and an angelic father who along with his collaborators intends to lead the human race into worshipping them as gods. Finally, *Lev. Rab.* 22.8 associates Deut. 32.17 with the sacrifices to goat idols/demons mentioned in Lev. 17.7. These associations heighten the heinous nature of sacrifice to demons and pave the way for Paul's use of Deut. 32.17 in 1 Corinthians 10.

Paul's citation of the text agrees with the LXX, apart from the verb changing from an aorist to a present tense verb ('they sacrifice' rather than 'they sacrificed'). Even if by Paul's day the concept of 'demons' was more highly developed, in both Deuteronomy 32 and in 1 Corinthians 10 the accusation of sacrificing to demons

29. Cf. Instone-Brewer, '1 Corinthians 9.9-11', p. 559, and his broader discussion.

30. *TWAT*, p. 906.

refers to pagan sacrifices. However, Hays is right that 'Paul's real concern, like that of the Song of Moses, is that *God's own people* are becoming implicated in this "abhorrent" practice'.³¹ Even if the Corinthians were not explicitly offering sacrifices to pagan gods, Paul's point, as he explains in 1 Cor. 10.16-18, is that by partaking in pagan religious meals they are implicated in the sacrifices themselves. Deut. 32.17 is used to underscore the unacceptability of this implicit idolatry.

Allusions to Deut. 32 in 1 Cor. 10.22

The influence of the Song of Moses on 1 Corinthians 10 does not stop with 10.20. Both halves of 1 Cor. 10.22 also betray the influence of the famous text. Paul's question in 1 Cor. 10.22a, 'Shall we provoke the Lord?' returns to the series of rhetorical questions that he had begun in v. 19. In this case, Paul's words echo the Lord's complaint against Israel in Deut. 32.21 LXX: 'They have provoked me with what is no god, they have angered me by their idols.' Paul's point is that to participate in pagan worship, even if unwitting, would be to follow in Israel's example of idolatry and to incite God to act in judgement.

Paul's follow-up question, in 1 Cor. 10.22b, 'Are we stronger than he?', likewise expects a negative response and is also an allusion to Deuteronomy 32. The Song of Moses emphasizes the strength of the Lord in a number of ways. According to Deuteronomy 32, one of the purposes of the coming judgement will be to impress on the nation their lack of strength and the Lord's great power. Verse 30 depicts Israel's impotence without the Lord's help: one man will chase a thousand Israelites; two will put ten thousand to flight. And verses 36-38 indicate that judgement will bring an end to Israel's strength, including any they may have derived from 'the gods': The Lord will desist from punishment 'when he sees that their strength is gone' (32.36). The motif of God's strength is also reflected in Deuteronomy 32 through the repeated use of the epithet 'the Rock'.³² In fact, in translating the chapter the Targumim employ several titles which interpret 'rock' as a figure for God's strength (most frequently, 'the Strong One').³³ In Deuteronomy 32, especially in the Targumim, the question of Israel's participation in idolatry and the Lord's jealousy and discipline is set in terms of strength and power. Israel follows other gods when they feel strong (cf. 1 Cor. 10.11, 'Let him who thinks he stands ...') and in response, the Lord purposes to show himself strong by punishing the Israelites. Paul's question in 1 Cor. 10.22b is designed not only to underscore the impotence of believers, but also to stress the omnipotence of God: surely we are not stronger than the Strong One! Understood in the light of this background, 1 Cor. 10.22b can be seen as a frightening threat of judgement upon those Corinthian Christians who provoke God to jealousy.³⁴

31. Hays, *1 Corinthians*, p. 169.

32. Cf. the Hebrew for 'rock' in Deut. 32.4, 15, 18, 30, 31.

33. See Rosner, *Paul, Scripture and Ethics*, p. 200.

34. Chrysostom understood Paul's intention similarly, asking 'Are we tempting Him, whether He is able to punish us, and irritating Him by going over to the adversaries and taking our stand with His enemies?' (NPNF 12.141).

Allusion to Deut. 34.10 in 1 Cor. 13.12 (and 2 Cor. 3.18)

In 1 Cor. 13.12 Paul alludes to Num. 12.6-8 which contrasts Moses' prophetic experience with that of all other prophets. While other prophets receive revelation through visions and dreams (12.6; cf. Joel 2.28 [3.1]), Moses experiences the presence of the Lord face to face (στόμα κατὰ στόμα), not indirectly (οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων) and he sees his form (LXX: glory). Paul says 'now we see in a mirror (δι' ἐσόπτρου) indirectly (ἐν αἰνίγματι), but then face to face (πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον). Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known.' Paul suggests Christians now share the experience of seeing God indirectly, in a mirror, (presumably analogous to his understanding of the prophets' experience) but will one day see him face to face (as did Moses). *Lev. Rab.* 1.14 goes on to quote Isa. 40.5 and say that while only a few in this age were able to see God the way Moses did, in the age to come 'all flesh shall see the glory of the Lord' (as Moses did). The contrast between this age and the age to come matches Paul's thinking precisely. The reference to the vision of 'the glory of the Lord' (in the citation from Isa. 40.5) brings us to the LXX translation of Num. 12.8. While the Hebrew says Moses saw the 'likeness' or 'form' of the Lord, the LXX says he saw the 'glory' of the Lord. The LXX both affirms Moses' face-to-face experience with the Lord and interprets it as a vision of his glory. Paul's discussion of the glory of the new covenant in 2 Corinthians 3 likewise speaks of the experience of believers reflecting the Lord's glory with unveiled faces (2 Cor. 3.18).

In Deut. 34.10 Moses is described as the only prophet whom 'the LORD knew face to face', a closer parallel to Paul's words in 1 Cor. 13.12 than Num. 12.8 which has Moses speaking to God literally 'mouth to mouth'. Fishbane suggests that Paul's alteration of LXX Num. 12.8 'mouth to mouth' to 'face to face' may reflect the influence of Deut. 34.10.³⁵ A conflation of Num. 12.8 and Deut. 34.10 is also evident in Philo (*Her.* 262). As Ciampa points out, Deut. 34.10 'also provides another link to the motif of "knowing" and "being known" (cf. also Num. 12.6 LXX: αὐτῷ γνωσθήσομαι) which is prominent in 1 Cor. 13.12 (cf. v. 8)'.³⁶

Allusion to Deut. 15.14 in 1 Cor. 16.2

In 1 Cor. 16.1-4 Paul instructs the Corinthians concerning the collection for the saints in Jerusalem. One of the principles he advocates is giving that is literally 'whatever be well led (εὐδοῶται)',³⁷ that is, 'in keeping with [one's] income' (NIV) or 'in accordance with how you may fare' (Thiselton). The thought is comparable to 2 Cor. 8.12 ('the gift is acceptable *according to what one has*'). Keener notes that this instruction is an application of Deut. 15.14 which is part of the instructions concerning the compensation of a Hebrew slave who has served out

35. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, p. 74.

36. Rosner and Ciampa, '1 Corinthians'.

37. Liddel and Scott define εὐδοῶ in the passive as having the metaphorical meaning of 'to prosper, be successful'.

his six years: 'Supply him liberally from your flock, your threshing floor and your winepress. Give to him as the LORD your God has blessed (LXX: εὐλόγησέν) you.'³⁸

Allusion to Deut. 31.6, 7, 13 in 1 Cor. 16.23

Paul begins his conclusion to the letter with a series of five pithy exhortations in 1 Cor. 16.13-14, the third of which is variously translated as 'be men of courage' (NIV), 'be brave' (NJB), 'be valiant' (REB), or 'conduct yourselves in a manly or courageous way' (BAGD). The Greek ἀνδρίζομαι evokes stereotypical masculine qualities of both strength, over against the feminine (cf. the following exhortation, 'be strong'), and maturity, over against the childish (cf. 1 Cor. 13.11).³⁹ The exhortation to 'show mature courage' (Thiselton) calls to mind the sturdy Old Testament motif of a call to courage in fulfilling the call of God under difficult circumstances.⁴⁰ The archetypal example of this motif is of Joshua's need to be courageous as he led the people of God into the Promised Land. The succession narrative of Deuteronomy 31, where Moses hands over his leadership to Joshua, uses the same verb in the LXX Deut. 31.6, 7, 23, firstly directed to the people and then twice to Joshua: 'be courageous and strong' (ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε). The coupling of ἀνδρίζομαι with a term for strength (cf. 'be strong' in 1 Cor. 16.13, κραταιοῦσθε) lends weight to the identification of a general allusion to this biblical theme at the close of 1 Corinthians. Just as Deuteronomy closes with Moses urging the people of God to be bold and robust in following the Lord's instructions to enter the land, in contrast to the generation who had died in the wilderness, so Paul called on believers in Corinth to have the same qualities having urged them not to follow the idolatrous and immoral example of the wilderness generation, whom he regards as the Corinthians' forefathers (1 Cor. 10.1-11).

A Quotation from Deuteronomy in 2 Corinthians

2 Corinthians has three main sections: A lengthy explanation of the nature of Paul's apostolic ministry (1.3-7.16); arrangements for the Collection (8.1-9.15); and a defence of Paul's apostleship (10.1-13.10). The letter's lack of direct and explicit ethical material explains the relatively marginal influence of Deuteronomy. There are no discernable allusions and only one quotation.

Deut. 19.15 in 2 Cor. 13.1

The theme of boasting in weakness occupies Paul in ch. 12, where he speaks of his visions and then ironically of his thorn in the flesh. In Paul's concern to secure the Corinthians' pure devotion to Christ (11.2) he mentions in 12.14 that he is ready to make a 'third visit'. He reminds them that on his earlier visits he did not

38. C. S. Keener, *The IVP Biblical Background Commentary: New Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), p. 489.

39. Thiselton, *1 Corinthians*, p. 1336.

40. Cf. Josh. 1.6, 9, 18; 10.25; 2 Sam. 10.12; 1 Chron. 22.13; 28.20; 2 Chron. 32.7; Ps. 26.14; 30.25.

take advantage of them or burden them (12.16-19). However, if he has to visit them a third time, he will have to point out their sins, a sample of which he lists in the final two verses of ch. 12 (vv. 20-21).⁴¹ In this context, ch. 13 opens with the words of warning: 'This will be my third visit to you.' The ominous tone is reinforced with a quotation of Deut. 19.15: 'Any charge must be sustained by the evidence of two or three witnesses.'⁴² Verse 2 spells out the need to take heed: 'I warned those who sinned before and all the others, and I warn them now while absent, as I did when present on my second visit, that if I come again I will not spare them.' In the rest of the chapter Paul makes a number of appeals to the Corinthians to 'mend their ways' (e.g., 13.11) and, more reassuringly, he affectionately greets them (13.12-13).

Deuteronomy 19 deals with a number of 'legal' matters, including the establishment of three cities of refuge for those guilty of unintentional manslaughter (19.2-10), instructions in the case of intentional murder (19.11-13), the moving of a neighbour's boundary stone (19.14), the requirement that there be more than one witness (19.15), which Paul quotes, and various regulations for witnesses (19.15-21). The common thread in the chapter is the need to take care to prevent injustice of one sort or another. Deut. 19.15 is a prominent text in both early Judaism (e.g., CD IX, 17-23 and 1QS V, 25-26) and in the New Testament (cf. Mt. 18.16; Heb. 10.28; Jn 8.17; 1 Tim. 5.19), continuing its influence in both legal and semi-legal contexts.⁴³

The main issue for understanding Paul's use of Deut. 19.15 in 2 Cor. 13.1 is the question of whether the two or three witnesses are real (persons) or metaphorical (the visits). In favour of the former view is the fact that in the Old Testament the witnesses are persons and at other points for Paul Titus, Timothy and even God are witnesses.⁴⁴ However, as Thrall argues, 'the third time' in v. 1 and 'the second time' in v. 2 are references to visits, and it is safe to conclude that 'Paul intends his three visits to be understood as the equivalent of three witnesses'.⁴⁵ The rhetorical effect of the quotation is 'to add force'⁴⁶ to the warning of his next visit on which Paul intends to exercise discipline if necessary. The sentiment is reminiscent of 1 Cor. 4.18-21: 'I will come to you very soon ... Shall I come with a whip?'

41. Cf. the pagan vices of 1 Cor. 6.9-10.

42. Paul cites the LXX text 'in a slightly abbreviated form' (D. E. Garland, *2 Corinthians* [NAC; Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1999], p. 540), omitting the repetition of the words for 'mouth' and 'witnesses'.

43. See H. van Vliet, *No Single Testimony: A Study on the Adoption of the Law of Deut. 19.15 par. into the New Testament* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon), 1958.

44. Garland, *2 Corinthians*, p. 541.

45. M. E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (ICC; 2 vols; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, vol. 1: 1994, vol. 2: 2000), II, p. 874.

46. Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, II, p. 876.

Conclusion

The apparent paucity of links between the Corinthian correspondence and Deuteronomy creates an impression that does not last. Especially in the sections where Paul is primarily concerned with ethics and matters of conduct, four quotations of Deuteronomy and numerous clusters of allusions accord the book a major role, especially in the central section of Paul's first letter. The main material of Deuteronomy, namely its laws, and the most famous texts, including the *Shema* and the Song of Moses, are strongly represented. Paul found in Deuteronomy and Moses a typological model and sympathetic ally. Both were concerned to explain to God's people an obedient response to God's grace in the light of the (new) exodus and (new) Passover. Both have the basic goal of securing the holiness and purity of that people in distinction from the nations and to promote the glory of God in 'the land', in the case of Deuteronomy, or 'in every place' (1 Cor. 1.2), as with 1 and 2 Corinthians.

Chapter 8

DEUTERONOMY IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

Gerd Häfner

Introduction

Before analysing the role of Deuteronomy in the Pastoral Epistles, it is necessary to clarify a number of assumptions concerning the literary character of the Pastorals and the distinctive features of scriptural references in these letters. I regard both letters to Timothy and the one to Titus as pseudepigraphic writings, written after the death of Paul¹ and written as a literary corpus. The three letters are intended to be read (or heard) as three pieces which belong together, beginning with 1 Timothy and ending with 2 Timothy. All the letters are connected by particular linguistic features and the polemic against false teachers,² two of them in addition by the question of church order (1 Timothy, Titus)³ and two by the same addressee. There is no specific situation that could be detected for each of the letters – one of the great differences (among others⁴) between the Pastorals and the undisputed Pauline writings.⁵ But as this problem is not the topic of this study, space does

1. Generally the Pastorals are dated at the turn of the first century, if pseudepigraphic character is assumed, e.g. A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Epistles* (NCB; Grand Rapids/London: Eerdmans/Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), p. 13, but H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament. II. History and Literature of Early Christianity* (New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 2nd edn, 2000), p. 307, regards 120–160 CE as most likely.

2. The battle against false teachers is to be found in 1 Tim. 1.3–10, 19–20; 4.1–10; 6.3–5, 20–1; 2 Tim. 2.14–4.5; Tit. 1.10–16; 3.9–11. Examples of distinctive linguistic features of the three Pastorals in the New Testament are the use of ‘to be/to become sound’ (ὑγιαίνω) in a figurative sense and the formula ‘the saying is true’ (πιστός ὁ λόγος).

3. See e.g. 1 Tim. 2.1–3.16; Tit. 1.5–9 and 2.1–15 with the focus on ‘Gemeindeparänese’; but see also the concern for community leadership in 2 Tim. 2.2.

4. In my view, differences concerning the language, the situation of the communities, and the church order are decisive for the pseudepigraphic character of the Pastorals, see e.g. L. Oberlinner, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 3 Vol. (HTKNT, XI, 2/1–3; Freiburg: Herder, 1994–96), I, pp. xxxiii–xlv; R. F. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), p. 7.

5. This is, admittedly, a controversial issue. Those who regard the Pastorals as authentic letters associate them with different historical situations, while other scholars deny the existence of any letter corpus. See W. A. Richards, *Difference and Distance in Post-Pauline Christianity: An Epistolary Analysis of the Pastorals* (Studies in Biblical Literature, 44; New York: Lang, 2002); J. Herzer, ‘Abschied vom Konsens?’, *TLZ* 129 (2004), pp. 1267–82 (he regards 1 Timothy as a pseudepigraphic

not allow further discussion. The following considerations treat the Pastorals as a unit: the *corpus* is the object of the interpretation, hence it is not necessary to treat each letter separately.⁶

Explicit scriptural references are only rarely attested in the Pastorals and it seems clear that the author of these letters is no expert in Scripture-based reasoning, though that does not mean that he is uninterested in Scripture. In 2 Tim. 3.14-17 he provides a proposition about the 'Holy Scriptures' (ἱερὰ γράμματα) and 'each Scripture' (πᾶσα γραφή) respectively. Three issues can be discerned in this programmatic passage: (a) Scripture is useful for the functions of the church leader – the focus is not on the relevance of Scripture for all believers; (b) it is a suitable instrument for battling against the false teachers and their adherents (see esp. 2 Tim. 3.16-17); (c) Scripture is embedded in the tradition of the Church without considering its origins in Israel.

Why does an author obviously interested in emphasizing the importance of Scripture resort to this authority so rarely? Or put another way: Why does an author, obviously reticent to quote from Scripture explicitly, provide a programmatic passage about the practical significance of Scripture?⁷ The puzzle can be solved in two steps. First, the programme of 2 Tim. 3.14-17 harmonizes with the concrete usage of Scripture in the Pastorals inasmuch as there are no contradictions between the two. The three issues noted above can be combined with the actual recourse to Scripture in the Pastorals. (a) Paul and the addressees Timothy and Titus are not identified with the church leaders of the time of the Pastorals, but these church leaders should consider Paul, Timothy and Titus as examples.⁸ Thus the usage of Scripture in the letters can be considered as the standard for those who exercise authority in the church. (b) The context of combat against the false teachers is apparent in 1 Tim. 4.3-4; 2 Tim. 2.19; 2 Tim. 3.8-9. It is less evident but nevertheless present in 1 Tim. 2.13-14⁹ and even the quotation of Deut. 25.4

letter); L. T. Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (AB, 35A; New York: Doubleday, 2001), pp. 63-4, 78-90.

6. There are good reasons for a pseudepigraphic author to create a corpus of three letters. The second addressee, Titus, is linked with a differing topographical setting (Crete: Tit. 1.5), thus asserting the author's claims of a broader validity of his admonitions: they are not limited to the situation in Ephesus, the community connected with Timothy (1 Tim. 1.3; also 2 Tim. 1.18). The second letter to Timothy is characterized by elements of a testament, see A. Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus* (EKKNT, XVI,1; Düsseldorf, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger, Neukirchener, 2003), pp. 38-9. As a letter of farewell it underlines the weight of the instructions given in all three writings. Hence, the fact that there are three letters does not militate against their pseudepigraphic character, *pace* G. D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (NICNT; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984), p. 6; W. D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (WBC, 46; Nashville: Nelson, 2000), p. cxx.

7. The emphasis is not on the inspiration. This view does not depend on a decision in the debated syntactical structure of 2 Tim. 3.16: 'All Scripture is inspired by God and useful for teaching' or 'every inspired Scripture is also useful for teaching'? We need not decide this issue here.

8. See esp. 2 Tim. 2.2: 'and what you have heard from me through many witnesses entrust to faithful people who will be able to teach others as well'. Teaching is one of the tasks of the church officer (see 1 Tim. 3.2; 5.17; Tit. 1.9).

9. See my 'Nützlich zur Belehrung' (2 Tim 3,16): *Die Rolle der Schrift in den Pastoralbriefen im Rahmen der Paulusrezeption* (Herders Biblische Studien, 25; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), p. 157-9.

in 1 Tim. 5.18 (considered in detail below) is linked to this theme inasmuch as the function of teaching (see 1 Tim. 5.17) has an anti-heretical bias. (c) The connection to the tradition of the church is manifested primarily by the role which traditions of interpretations play for the understanding of Scripture passages and by the fact that the material quoted from the Old Testament in the Pastorals is in some way already shaped by the Pauline tradition.

Secondly, it is probably the conflict with his opponents which explains the strategy of the author. Because of the Jewish elements in the characterization of the false teachers¹⁰ it seems manifest that for them, Scripture played a decisive role. Facing this situation the author of the Pastorals could not leave Scripture to the opponents, he had to make clear that Scripture belongs to his own (the 'orthodox') side. Judging from the marginal role of explicit scriptural references in the Pastoral Epistles, he probably did not know how to realize such a statement as 2 Tim. 3.16. But this is the very reason for this statement: Because our author did not have detailed knowledge of Scripture, the fundamental declaration took the place of detailed reasoning based on the writings we now call the 'Old Testament'.¹¹

What are the implications of these preliminary considerations for our topic? (1) We cannot expect the book of Deuteronomy to play a major role in the message of the Pastorals. If Scripture is sparsely cited, then that applies of course to any part of it. (2) On the other hand, if there are only a few explicit references to Scripture, those which are realized are all the more striking. As we shall see, the only Scripture reference in the Pastorals which is introduced by the term γραφή (Scripture) is taken from the book of Deuteronomy (at least the first part of the quotation). (3) We must consider possible indirect influences of Deuteronomy. If Scripture is perceived as part of the church tradition, it is not surprising that we can detect its traces in what we can call 'biblical language'. This label marks those cases in which a phrasing has discernible roots in the Old Testament but is so common and general that an intended reference to a specific text is out of the question. As a rule, we come across this category when a phrase is found repeatedly, without any clues to determine a particular context.¹²

Quotation

Deut. 25.4 in 1 Tim. 5.18

1 Tim. 5.18 is the only instance in the Pastorals in which an Old Testament quotation is formally introduced as part of the Scripture (λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή). The quotation is a composite one with Deut. 25.4 being the first part. For our purposes,

10. See 1 Tim. 1.7 (teachers of the Law); Tit. 3.9 (quarrels about the Law); see also the 'myths and genealogies' in 1 Tim. 1.4; 4.7; 2 Tim. 4.4; Tit. 3.9.

11. The considerations just presented are explained more closely in my *Belehrung*, see esp. pp. 255–73.

12. W. L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter* (WUNT, 2/30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), calls this type of scriptural references 'biblicisms' (pp. 36, 41).

the problems of the second part can be left aside for now.¹³ The wording of the citation is almost identical to the LXX, as can be seen by the following:

<i>Deut. 25.4</i>	<i>1 Tim. 5.18</i>
You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain (οὐ φιμώσεις βούν ἀλοῶντα)	For the scripture says, 'You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain (βούν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις)

The only difference lies in the word order: in 1 Tim. 5.18 the direct object is at the beginning of the clause. This word order is peculiar to the Pastorals and no extant version of the Greek or Hebrew text of Deut. 25.4 begins with the direct object. It is unlikely that the author of the Pastoral Epistles has himself translated from the Hebrew text. He uses exactly the same words as the Septuagint, which is not inevitable, at least in the case of the predicate. Instead of φιμῶω the author could have used κημῶω, as Paul did in his quotation of Deut. 25.4 in 1 Cor. 9.9.¹⁴

The fact that Paul cites the same verse of Deuteronomy is of vital importance for our survey of the role of this Old Testament book in the Pastorals, for it raises the question of whether the author of these letters is citing from the Old Testament on the basis of the tradition available to him.

To answer this question we have to take a closer look at the Pauline quotation of Deut. 25.4. Paul does not simply adduce the verse in question, he also tries to give reasons for the relevance of this statement to the issue treated in 1 Cor. 9.1-18, namely, the apostles' right to be maintained by their communities. It is not easy to read this out of Deut. 25.4, a fact taken into consideration by Paul when he asks: 'Is it for oxen that God is concerned?' This question is followed by a second one which points to the alternative: 'Or does he (God) not speak entirely for our sake? It was indeed written for our sake, for whoever ploughs should plough in hope and whoever threshes should thresh in hope of a share in the crop' (1 Cor. 9.10-11).

This statement contains some exegetical problems which cannot be discussed in detail here.¹⁵ For our purposes, it is sufficient to concentrate on the shift of meaning that can be detected in the Pauline exegesis. Whether Paul denies the literal sense is a debated issue. The confrontation of the two rhetorical questions in 9.9 and 9.10 suggests that Paul wishes to exclude the view that God could be concerned for oxen.¹⁶ He is not arguing from the 'lesser to the greater' (if

13. The wording of the second quotation agrees with Luke 10.7. It is, however, improbable that the Gospel of Luke (or the Q source or some other collection of sayings of Jesus) is cited as Scripture. For details see my *Belehrung*, pp. 192, 201-3.

14. The manuscripts are, admittedly, divided in the case of 1 Cor. 9.9, but generally κημῶσεις is regarded as the original reading (see below).

15. E.g. the interpretation of the first person plural; the meaning of πάντως (translated above as 'entirely'); the reference of the rhetorical question in v. 10: Deut. 25.4 (cited in v. 9) or the speaking of God altogether.

16. A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids/Carlisle: Eerdmans/Paternoster Press, 2000), p. 686, regards 9.9 rather as 'a

God is concerned for oxen, then *a fortiori* for his servants), as Gordon Fee rightly observes.¹⁷ But the statement that Paul's eschatological view of the Old Testament 'is not so much a denial of concern for animals as it is a recognition that even the Law's concern for oxen was a way of teaching Israel of God's mercy toward all'¹⁸ does not find sufficient support in the text.

It could be maintained that Paul retains a fundamental theme of Deut. 25.4 (those who labour shall partake in the fruits of their work), but he is not interested in keeping the original 'addressees' of the Old Testament text, not even in the sense of 'not so much a denial of concern for animals'. Richard Hays notes that the 'surrounding laws in Deut. 24 and 25 (especially Deut. 24.6-7, 10-22; 25.1-3) almost all serve to promote dignity and justice for human beings ... It is not surprising that Paul would have read this verse also as suggesting something about justice in human economic affairs.'¹⁹ But even if this shows that Paul's exegesis is not 'an example of arbitrary prooftexting',²⁰ it is not justified to conclude from this contextual setting that Deut. 25.4 cannot be read as a pure rule for the protection of animals.²¹ This rule is associated with the context by the idea of sensitivity and compassion which is not restricted to human relationships but extends to (threshing) animals. This can clearly be seen by the recourse to this passage in Philo and Josephus.

Philo is an expert in allegorizing Old Testament passages but does not allegorize Deut. 25.4. He praises the Law for the mercy against the labouring animal, not only with regard to threshing (*Virt.* 145), but also to ploughing (*Virt.* 146, referring to Deut. 22.10). Philo highlights the concern for the animal on the part of the lawgiver: to yoke together the ox and the ass is forbidden not only because of the difference of nature between the two animals (the ass being unclean), but also because of 'their disparity of strength'. The lawgiver 'takes thought for the weaker, and would not have them suffer discomfort or oppression from superior force'. Philo draws a conclusion of these instructions for human relationships,²²

hesitant question' than as a rhetorical question demanding a negative answer. But the continuation in 9.10 does not support this view: Paul juxtaposes two possibilities of which only one is valid.

17. G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 407-8. I. H. Marshall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), p. 616, and Collins, *1&2 Timothy*, p. 145, recognize the kind of inference mentioned above in 1 Tim. 5.18, but the text gives no hint for this.

18. Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 408.

19. R. B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox 1997), p. 151.

20. Hays, *First Corinthians*, p. 151.

21. See for example C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1968), p. 205; W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKKNT, VII, 2; Zürich, Neukirchen: Benziger, Neukirchener, 1995), II, pp. 298-9. According to R. D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), p. 297. Deut. 25.4 could have been originally part of a 'farmer's code of conduct' (together with Deut. 22.9-10 and 24.19-21).

22. 'Those whose souls have ears can almost hear it speaking plainly in a voice loud and insistent that we should do no wrongs to men of other nations, if we can accuse them of nothing save difference of race, which is no matter for accusation' (*Virt.* 147). The translation of the Philo quotations is

but he does this on the basis of a literal understanding of the Deuteronomy passages which are not interpreted allegorically.

Josephus refers to Deut. 25.4 in a passage that deals with the generosity demanded from those who possess fields, vineyards or olives, a generosity towards the poor, towards those who pass by the field (be they Israelite or strangers) – and towards the oxen, ‘for it is not just to exclude from the fruit your fellow-labourers who have toiled to produce it’ (*Ant.* IV.233).

Furthermore, the argument from the lesser to the greater is attested solely in the Rabbinic tradition in which the rule of Deut. 25.4 is expanded to the harvester (see *b. B. Mes.* 88b). The rural context, and thus the ‘literal meaning’, is still present. It follows from all this that the Pauline application of the Deuteronomy verse in question could hardly tie in with early Jewish traditions. The nearest parallel to the repudiation of the thought that God could be concerned for oxen is found in the *Letter of Aristeas*, where, however, Deut. 25.4 plays no role.²³

This result has consequences for the interpretation of 1 Tim. 5.18. When referring to Deut. 25.4, the Pastorals presuppose the hermeneutical work done by Paul. The context in which the quotation is embedded is comparable in both cases. Paul is treating the issue of the rights of an apostle, especially his right to be maintained by the community (1 Cor. 9.4, 6-7). In the Pastorals the quotation follows a statement about the ‘double honour’ (διπλῆ τιμή) which should be given to the elders. The exact meaning of this term is disputed, but possibly it includes some sort of payment or material benefit. The quotation of Deut. 25.4 acts as justification for this support: in both cases the Scripture reference is introduced by the conjunction ‘for’ (γάρ). It is, therefore, ‘part of God’s design that Christian workers be paid for their work’.²⁴ That Deut. 25.4 can serve as justification for this is by no means obvious and, as shown above, the Jewish tradition gave no clue for such an understanding of the verse. Whereas Paul felt the necessity to give reasons for his Scripture-based reasoning, and rightly did so, the Pastorals seem to take it for granted that Deut. 25.4 is an argument for the ‘double honour’ the elders are worthy of. In other words: Deuteronomy is cited ‘via Paul’.

This conclusion does not mean that the Scripture reference is weakened in favour of a reference to Pauline tradition.²⁵ The intent to cite Scripture is made explicit by the introductory formula followed by an identifiable Old Testament

taken from the *Loeb Classical Library* (F. H. Colson) as is the case for the quotation of Flavius Josephus below (H. St. J. Thackeray).

23. *Let. Aris.* 144 runs like this: ‘Do not take the contemptible view that Moses enacted this legislation because of an excessive preoccupation with mice and weasels and suchlike creatures. The fact is that everything has been solemnly set in order for unblemished investigation and amendment of life for the sake of righteousness’ (cited according to R. J. H. Shutt, ‘Letter of Aristeas’, in J. H. Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [New York: Doubleday 1985], II, p. 22). The thought refers to the respective character of clean and unclean birds, the unclean being wild and carnivorous, tyrannizing over the others by their own strength, obtaining food by preying on other birds and by seizing lambs and kids (see *Let. Aris.* 146-47).

24. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 310.

25. Pace J. Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus* (EKKNT, XV; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), p. 309.

passage (Deut. 25.4). There is no reason to qualify this statement, the more so as the second part of the quotation gives no hint to *specific* Pauline tradition.

Differences between 1 Cor. 9.9 and 1 Tim. 5.18 in the wording of the quotation do not militate against the 'Pauline transmission' discussed above. Paul uses another Greek verb for 'to muzzle' (κημόω instead of φιμόω²⁶) but follows the word order of the Septuagint (direct object at the end of the sentence). This is, however, the very reason why the Pastorals have not referred to the Septuagint directly. If the intent of the author of these letters had been to adapt the Pauline quotation of Deut. 25.4 to the exact wording of the LXX,²⁷ the position of the object could not be accounted for. No extant version of the verse has the word order of 1 Tim. 5.18. That this order could be due to the wish to emphasize the object²⁸ is an unconvincing assumption: the sentence is so short that such a reordering can hardly have that effect.

'Pauline transmission' does not necessarily mean that the Pastorals used the passage of the first epistle to the Corinthians as immediate source. The main objection to be raised against this view is the difference in the second part of the quotation. 'The labourer is worthy of his wages' as attested in the Scripture – no clue could be found for this thought in 1 Corinthians 9. Indeed, Paul refers to this saying, but as a saying of the *Lord*: 'The Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel' (1 Cor. 9.14). It is hard to see how the misunderstanding of 1 Tim. 5.18b that this saying is taken from the Scripture²⁹ could have been derived directly from 1 Corinthians 9. Probably the author of the Pastorals is dependent on a principle known in Pauline tradition and tracing back to the first epistle to the Corinthians, but not on this letter as a literary source. Be that as it may, there is no evidence that the Pastorals resort to the Septuagint directly. There are no observations which could counter the fact that the author draws on two sayings also attested in a Pauline letter within a comparable context.

What is the relevance of the quotation in the context of the Pastorals? The preceding verse is an appeal concerning the attitude towards elders. The πρεσβύτεροι

26. Both readings are attested in the manuscripts, the use of φιμόω generally being seen as a literary improvement and as an adaptation to the wording of the Septuagint. See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart/New York: Bibelgesellschaft, United Bible Societies, 2nd edn, 1994), p. 492. This is, indeed, far from sure (C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* [SNTSMS, 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], pp. 195–6), but we need not discuss this issue here.

27. See for example, P. Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe* (BBET, 8; Frankfurt: Lang, 1978), p. 155.

28. See Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus*, p. 305 (with footnote 408).

29. There are no hints that the author of our letters would have accepted the Gospels (or that of Luke) as 'Scripture'. Probably he supposed (with sayings such as Lev. 19.13; Deut. 24.14–15; Mal. 3.5 in mind) the saying to be attested in the Old Testament; for details see my *Belehrung* 201–3; see also the similar statement of Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy*, p. 146. An opposite point of view is held by P. Trummer, 'Corpus Paulinum – Corpus Pastorale: Zur Ortung der Paulustradition in den Pastoralbriefen' in K. Kertelge (ed.), *Paulus in den neutestamentlichen Spätschriften* (QD, 89; Freiburg: Herder, 1981), pp. 122–45 (139).

are not 'elderly men' (as in 1 Tim. 5.1) but church leaders, as is plain from the designation as 'well ruling elders' and from the addition 'especially those who labour in preaching and teaching'.³⁰ These persons should be considered worthy of 'double honour'. The Greek word τιμή has a wide range of meaning: it denotes not only 'honour', but also 'value, price' and 'compensation'.³¹ The exact meaning in 1 Tim. 5.17 is disputed. It seems unlikely, for lexicographical and historical reasons, that τιμή is to be understood as a regular paid salary: τιμή does not mean 'regular salary' but 'honour', and the early church was hardly able to give such regular payments to leaders who were permanently present in their communities.³² It does not follow from this that the meaning of 'remuneration' is to be excluded, but the primary accent is on the *respect* that should be demonstrated for the elders. This respect can be expressed in an honorarium; what is decisive is that the elders are highly esteemed by the community. For this interpretation the quantity 'double' is not redundant, but refers in all likelihood to the state of widows discussed in the preceding paragraph (1 Tim. 5.3-16).³³ The elders should be held in considerably higher esteem. The quantity 'double' does not need to be defined exactly,³⁴ as the author is concerned with the appropriate relationship between the state of widows and of elders – appropriate in *his* eyes: the author shows a tendency to downgrade the state of the widows³⁵ in favour of a strong leadership exercised by elders and the bishop respectively. To strengthen the church office is one of the major concerns of the Pastorals,³⁶ thus the passage 1 Tim. 5.17-18 is not an aside but a central expression of the message of these letters. A strong leadership is regarded as the best means for rejecting the false

30. For a recent discussion of μάλιστα (translated above as 'especially') see H. B. Kim, 'The Interpretation of ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ in 1 Timothy 5.17', *NovT* 46 (2004), pp. 360–8.

31. See H. G. Liddell/R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 1793–4.

32. See J. A. Kirk, 'Did "Officials" in the New Testament Church receive a Salary', *ExpT* 84 (1972/73), pp. 105–8. It is therefore not justified to conclude from the wording of the quotations in 1 Tim. 5.18 that 'honour' must mean 'compensation/payment', as does Johnson, *Letters*, pp. 277–8, without taking into consideration a figurative meaning of the quotations. According to Collins, *1&2 Timothy*, p. 144, the 'double honour' refers to esteem and sustenance. That the communities were able to provide an elder with his sustenance is, however, improbable.

33. Hence, the quantity 'double' has its reference point not in elders who do not rule well, *pace* C. Spicq, *Les Épitres Pastorales* (Études Bibliques; Paris: Cerf, 4th edn, 1969), p. 542, or in elders who do not rule at all, *pace* J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary in the Pastoral Epistles* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1963), p. 125. The first suggestion raises the question of who could have decided which of the presbyters have been ruling well. In the second case the function of those 'second-class elders' remains unclear.

34. See also Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 309: 'διπλή, "double" does not necessarily mean double the sum and can be used "without any definite numerical reference"' (citing the commentary of J. H. Bernard).

35. See for this tendency U. Wagnen, *Die Ordnung des 'Hauses Gottes': Der Ort der Frauen in der Ekklesiologie und Ethik der Pastoralbriefe* (WUNT, 2/62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), pp. 231–3.

36. See e.g. Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp. 23–4.

teachers.³⁷ To reach this aim it is necessary that the teaching elders be respected by the community. The figurative sense of Deut. 25.4 is increased when compared to 1 Cor. 9.9. There is not only a shift from a rule for the protection of animals to the maintenance of the apostle by the endtime community, but also from this question of maintenance to that of respect due to church officers (the nuance of material support being at best secondary).

A Possible Allusion

Deut. 19.15 in 1 Tim. 5.19

Never accept any accusation against an elder except on the evidence of two or three witnesses.

It is beyond doubt that we find in this verse an Old Testament principle attested twice in Deuteronomy (19.15; 17.6) and once in Numbers (35.30). According to that principle it is forbidden to convict an accused person on the evidence of a single witness. In Deut. 17.6 and Num. 35.30, the rule relates to the execution of the death sentence, whereas Deut. 19.15 is about 'any crime or wrongdoing'. Consequently, the respective contexts are quite different: in the Pastorals the cited norm is not connected to a lawsuit but to a critique directed against elders.

This shift of context is by no means peculiar to 1 Tim. 5.19 within early Christian tradition. The nearest parallel is to be found in Mt. 18.16 which is part of a passage dedicated to the procedure for admonishing a brother who has sinned (18.15-18). As 1 Tim. 5.20 is concerned with sinning elders, the contexts are indeed comparable. That the focus in the Pastorals is on the church officer and not on the believer in general ('brother') is a characteristic feature for these letters and constitutes no essential difference regarding the problem to which the 'witness rule' is applied. Both cases are about church discipline. This is, in a sense, even true for a third passage drawing on Deut. 19.15, namely 2 Cor. 13.1. Here, Paul is announcing his third visit to the community of Corinth, and then he cites the rule under discussion. In the face of opponents who had success in Corinth, Paul is writing a sort of apology³⁸ thus preserving the forensic context of Deut. 19.15,³⁹ but this is true only in a metaphoric sense: we do not leave the context of 'church discipline', which does refer here to the relationship between the apostle and the community founded by him. So again, as in 1 Tim. 5.19-20 and in

37. See Oberlinner, *Pastoralbriefe*, Vol. 3, pp. 83, 91.

38. See H.-G. Sundermann, *Der schwache Apostel und die Kraft der Rede: Eine rhetorische Analyse von 2 Kor 10-13* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1996), pp. 39-45.

39. Presumably he regards the visits themselves as the witnesses in the 'trial' against the community (see M. E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000], II, pp. 874-5), but for our purposes we can leave aside the details of the exegesis of 2 Cor. 13.1.

Mt. 18.15-18, we hear of sinning members of the community (13.2). As a result, the horizon of the deuteronomic rule has been enlarged in each of these cases.

Such changes do not *per se* cast doubt on the scriptural reference. This is true in a general sense⁴⁰ but is also confirmed in view of the fourth passage in the New Testament which refers to Deut. 19.15.⁴¹ Only in Jn 8.17 is the reference explicitly indicated, namely by the formula 'it is written' (γέγραπται). The context is totally different from the one detected so far. John is concerned with Christology not with church discipline. There are traces indicating the situation of a trial,⁴² but the assumption that the evangelist is particularly interested in the exact reproduction of the Old Testament reference text would be misleading. On the contrary, in spite of signaling a citation (γέγραπται) John does not quote but adduces the content of Deut. 19.15 'in his own free phrasing'.⁴³ Indeed, any other rendering of this verse in the New Testament shows greater verbal similarity than the alleged quotation.⁴⁴ We learn from this that the intended role of Scripture in New Testament writings is not necessarily dependent on literal agreement with the reference text. But without signals such as 'it is written' the matter becomes more complicated. This is especially true if other ways of transmission of Bible traditions, besides the direct recourse to Scripture, cannot be excluded.

In these instances the verbal similarity is of vital importance. In 1 Tim. 5.19 there is no explicit mention of Scripture as the source of the 'witness rule'. The quotation in the preceding verse is finished, 'Paul' appeals to 'Timothy' at the beginning of v. 19 ('never accept any accusation against an elder') without marking any further Scripture reference.⁴⁵ None of the three Old Testament texts is reproduced verbally.⁴⁶

40. 'Anyone familiar with the exegetical methods used in the Dead Sea Scrolls or the Talmud knows well enough that original context scarcely determined later application' (W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Matthew* [ICC; London, New York: T&T Clark, 2004], II, p. 784).

41. A fifth recourse on the 'witness rule' can be left aside. Heb. 10.28 is clearly citing Deut. 17.6, but the number of witnesses is of no importance in the context of the quotation.

42. In Jn 8.12-20 'testimony' (μαρτυρία) and 'to bear witness' (μαρτυρεῖν) are central expressions repeated several times, as is the case for 'to judge' (κρίνειν) and judgement (κρίσις).

43. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel* (CBET, 15; Kampen: Kok, 1996), p. 16.

44. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, p. 16, points out that the agreement is 'limited to the numeral δύο and the root μαρτυρ-'. Johannine language has taken the place of the original wording.

45. Therefore, it seems unjustified to take the introduction of the quotation in 5.18 as evidence for an intended Scripture reference (pace A. Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus: Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe* [NTOA, 52; Göttingen/Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], p. 110).

46. In the following synopsis the translation of the cited Greek text is marked by italics. The translation is that of the NRSV, except in the case of Deut. 19.15: Here, the King's James Version is cited, because its greater fidelity to the original text facilitates following the reasoning of the subsequent paragraph.

1 Tim. 5.19	Num. 35.30	Deut. 17.6	Deut. 19.15
Never accept any accusation against an elder <i>except on the evidence of two or three witnesses.</i>	If anyone kills another, the murderer shall be put to death on the evidence of witnesses; <i>but no one shall be put to death on the testimony of a single witness.</i>	<i>On the evidence of two or three witnesses the death sentence shall be executed;</i> a person must not be put to death on the evidence of only one witness.	One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: <i>at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.</i>
ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων.	καὶ μάρτυς εἷς οὐ μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ ψυχὴν ἀποθανεῖν.	ἐπὶ δυσὶν μάρτυσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθάνεται ὁ ἀποθνήσκων ...	ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

The synopsis shows that only Deuteronomy has the characteristic feature of the numbers two and three. Consequently we can exclude Num. 35.30 from the following discussion. The two remaining passages seem to be both in the background of 1 Tim. 5.19.⁴⁷ The phrasing in the Pastorals agrees with Deut. 17.6 in the omission of ‘the mouth’ – a clear hint that the Hebrew text has had no influence whatsoever on 1 Tim. 5.19.⁴⁸ The preposition ἐπὶ, however, does not govern the dative, as in Deut. 17.6, but the genitive as in Deut. 19.15. On the other hand, all that is characteristic of the last named verse is missing in 1 Tim 5.19: not only the phrase ἐπὶ στόματος (‘at the mouth’), but also the subject and the predicate by which the statement is characterized as a basic principle (‘shall all matter be established’, σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα). Hence, it is extremely difficult to identify a precise reference point in Scripture. This can be highlighted by a comparison with Mt. 18.16:

But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, *that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter may be established* (ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα).

In spite of some differences,⁴⁹ there is no doubt that Deut. 19.15 is the reference text of this Matthean statement.⁵⁰ This can be seen not only by the extent of verbal

47. See Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 617.
48. In none of the three Old Testament versions of the ‘witness rule’ the phrase מִפִּי (at the mouth) is absent. In the Septuagint, however, only Deut. 19.15 has an equivalent for this prepositional expression (ἐπὶ στόματος). The end of this verse shows, in contrast, a slight difference between LXX and Hebrew text: *every matter/ πᾶν ῥῆμα* is attested only in the Greek version. For our discussion of 1 Tim. 5.19 these variations are of no relevance.
49. The conjunctive mood (σταθῇ) instead of the future (σταθήσεται) is dependent on the conjunction ἵνα; the καὶ (‘and’) between the two numbers of witnesses is substituted by ἢ (‘or’); and, finally, Matthew (or the tradition on which he is dependent) has slightly abbreviated the text (without effect on the content).
50. J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids/

agreement but also by the syntactical structure: the 'witness rule' is embedded in a final clause and this indicates that the rule is perceived as something to be observed, as a given commandment. It can be assumed, then, that the author is aware of the source of the saying.

Both indicators are missing in 1 Tim 5.19. The verbal agreement is, as shown, very limited, and there is no syntactical evidence for the existence of a quotation. So we cannot be sure that the Old Testament background is of any importance for the author of the Pastorals. Maybe he is simply adducing a 'church rule', a principle of church discipline, and applies it to the behaviour against elders.⁵¹ He shows no effort to trace that principle back to Scripture. Consequently, readers who do not know the Deuteronomy passages have no chance to perceive the Scripture reference.⁵² It *cannot be excluded* that the author is informed about the Old Testament and deuteronomic origin of the 'witness rule'. But positive evidence for this is not available. Hence, I speak of a possible allusion to Deut. 19.15.

Deuteronomy in the Biblical Language of the Pastorals

In 1 Tim. 2.3 we read a comment on the preceding instruction for worship, namely, that prayers should be offered for everyone, including kings and all those in authority, aiming at a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and dignity (2.1-2): 'This is right (καλόν) and is acceptable (ἀπόδεκτον) in the sight of (ἐνώπιον) God our Saviour.' This wording is reminiscent of several passages in Deuteronomy but no exact parallel is to be found. Observing the commandments of God can be rendered by 'doing what is right (καλόν) and pleasing (ἀρεστόν) in the eyes of (ἐναντίον) the LORD your God'.

The structure of the sayings is identical: a certain behaviour is denoted by using two adjectives followed by a prepositional phrase. The content is very similar: the meaning of the two adjectives does not differ (and in one case we find the same word); the same is true for the respective preposition and the following expression which in both cases relates to God (as Saviour or as Lord). But the frequency of the sentence (Deut. 12.25, 28; 13.19; 21.9)⁵³ renders it impossible to

Bletchley: Eerdmans/Paternoster Press, 2005), p. 747, sees, obviously by mistake, the Matthean language as 'very close to the LXX of *Dt. 17.6*' (italics mine).

51. It is, however, improbable that the rule is borrowed from Matthew (regarded as possible by A. Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion* [BHT, 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979], p. 137). The preceding verse cites a synoptic saying – without Matthean features (Lk. 10.7: 'the labourer deserves to be paid'; Mt. 10.10: the labourer deserves his food). And the same is true for the wording of 1 Tim. 5.19 compared to Mt. 18.16 (see, in addition to the omissions, the position of μαρτύρων in the Greek text). It seems, then, preferable to assume that Deut. 19.15 was part of an early collection of rules concerning the church order, see M. Albl, 'And scripture cannot be broken': *The Form and the Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSup, 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 170.

52. See Merz, *Selbstausslegung*, p. 68.

53. See also Deut. 6.18 (with slight differences in the order of the adjectives).

identify a single passage as source or reference point of 1 Tim. 2.3.⁵⁴ None of the contexts has left any trace: neither the interdiction of eating blood (12.25) nor the commandments concerning the sacrifices (12.28) or apostasy (13.19) or an expiation ritual (21.9). In addition, a shorter, but similar phrase is attested not only in Deuteronomy but also elsewhere in the Septuagint.⁵⁵ So it seems justified to think of a formulaic expression which has its *Sitz im Leben* in the cultic-liturgical sphere.⁵⁶

Although 'biblical language' cannot be reduced to a specific reference point in the Old Testament, it is not irrelevant for the topic of this chapter if the instances of a given expression are characteristically frequent in one biblical book. This is the case in the preceding example: most references are to be found in Deuteronomy. The same is true for the term 'people of his own' in Tit. 2.14 (λαὸς περιούσιος). Three times we read this title for Israel in Deuteronomy (7.6; 14.2; 26.18), one time in Exodus (19.5) or two times if we take the Septuagint into account (LXX Exod. 23.22, the Hebrew equivalent is not attested in the Hebrew text). But apart from the fact that Israel's title is claimed for the church, thus retaining the reference to a people of God, the Old Testament passages have left no traces in the New Testament text. Again, the relationship is very selective and this is corroborated by the fact that Ezek. 37.23 LXX is also discussed as background text of Tit 2.14. Actually, there are some similarities, particularly the connection between redemption, purification and the establishing of a relationship between God and his people. But we deal with an almost inextricable tangle of textual contacts, not with identifiable quotations or even allusions. In this network Deuteronomy plays a certain role but is not dominant: despite the verbal agreement in the phrase under discussion we cannot find a specific concern for 'Deuteronomy themes'. And the concept of the 'people of God' is not prominent in the ecclesiology of the Pastorals. There is only the one hint in Tit 2.14; otherwise the ecclesiology is marked by the metaphor of 'the house'.⁵⁷

Several phrases can be found in the Pastorals which are widely attested in Old Testament writings including Deuteronomy, but only as one among others. This is true for 'the living God' (1 Tim. 3.15; 4.10; cf. Deut. 4.33; 5.26⁵⁸) and for the

54. See Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 67, who also considers a reference to Mal. 1.11 but concludes: 'if there is an echo of Deuteronomy or Malachi here, the references are unconsciously inherited by the author in the material he is using'.

55. '... what is right (ἀρεστόν) in his (=God's) eyes (ἐνώπιον)': Deut. 12.8; 2 Esra 10.11; Tob. 4.21; 14.9 (Sinaiticus).

56. See Oberlinner, *Pastoralbriefe*, Vol. 1, p. 71. Cult (bound to a holy place, with various forms of sacrifices) and prayer are indeed different phenomena. But the mentioned *Sitz im Leben* with the two components (cult, liturgy) is appropriate inasmuch as both cases are about an action directed to God. It is, however, impossible to construct a link to a specific passage in Deuteronomy.

57. See 1 Tim. 3.15; 2 Tim. 2.19-21; also 1 Tim. 3.4-5 and the passages in which the author inculcates the roles of the ancient household (Tit. 2.1-10; 1 Tim. 2.11-5; 6.1-2; for this see e.g. D. C. Verner, *The Household of God: the Social World of the Pastoral Epistles* [SBLDS, 71; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983], pp. 127-86).

58. But see also in the LXX: Jos. 3.10; 1 Kgs 17.36; 4 Kgs 19.4, 16; Ps. 41.3; Isa. 37.4, 17; Dan. 5.23 *et al.*

designation of a minister of God as 'man of God' (1 Tim. 6.11; 2 Tim. 3.17; cf. Deut. 33.1⁵⁹). The phrase 'to pursue righteousness' (1 Tim. 6.11) is to be found in Deut. 16.20⁶⁰ and in many other instances as well.⁶¹ The designation of God as 'Lord of the Lords' (1 Tim. 6.15) likewise is not restricted to Deuteronomy (10.17)⁶² as is the case for 'the great God' (Tit. 2.13).⁶³

Perhaps there is another example for an indirect influence of Deuteronomy on the Pastorals. According to 2 Tim. 3.15 the holy Scriptures are able to make wise (σοφίσαι). This wording does not allude to a specific text, the Old Testament rather provides a broader background for the idea of Torah as source of wisdom.⁶⁴ God's commandment (ἐντολή) 'makes me wiser than my enemies' (Ps. 118.98 LXX; also v. 130), his Law (νόμος) makes infants wise (Ps. 18.8 LXX). Possibly these psalms are a reflection of Deut. 4.5-6 where it is said that the wisdom of Israel is rooted in the statutes and ordinances given by God. Thus Deuteronomy could have played a part in the development of that tradition, but there is no evidence for an allusion to that book in 2 Tim. 3.15.

Finally, there is the phrase 'works done in righteousness' in Tit. 3.5. Salvation is not founded in such works but in the grace of God. A similar exclusion, it seems, is found in Deut. 9.5: the gift of the land is not attributed to Israel's righteousness, but to the activity of God. A specification, however, needs to be added: this activity is motivated by the wickedness of the nations living in Canaan and by the promise given to the fathers. This constitutes a remarkable difference between the two texts, as in Tit. 3.5 motives for God's mercy are totally absent. In addition, the verbal agreement is not too impressive: 'works done in righteousness' is peculiar to Tit. 3.5. What we find in both texts is the opposition of human righteousness and the saving act of God. Lastly, in a letter belonging to the Pauline tradition, it is no surprise to find a repudiation of salvation by works of righteousness, even if there is no exact parallel. Paul, in his undisputed letters, never speaks of 'works (done) in righteousness', but of 'works of the Law' which cannot lead

59. And 1 Chron. 23.14 (Moses); Judg. 13.6, 8 (an angel of God); 1 Sam. 9.6 (Samuel); 1 Kgs 12.22 (Shemaiah); 1 Kgs 17.18 (Elijah); 2 Kgs 4.7 (Elisha) *et al.*

60. With slight variations, which are, however, in the Greek text less distinct than in English versions which mostly use the term 'just' or 'justice' in rendering Deut. 16.20, as does the NRSV: 'Justice, and only justice, you shall pursue' (LXX: δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώχῃ).

61. See Prov. 15.9; Sir. 27.8; Isa. 51.1; see also Rom. 9.30 and other cases in the Pauline letters in which a virtue is object of the verb 'to pursue' (as e.g. peace and love; see Rom. 12.13; 14.19; 1 Cor. 14.1; 1 Thess. 5.15; also Heb. 12.14; 1 Pet. 3.11).

62. Again there are differences in the precise wording not easily rendered in English. In 1 Tim. 6.15 we find the connection of κύριος and κυριεύειν (to reign, to rule, hence 'Lord of the ruling' in a verbal translation). This is nowhere attested in the Septuagint, in which the phrase 'Lord of the Lords' appears (κύριος κυρίων, see Dan. 4.37; Ps. 135.3, 26 LXX).

63. See in the LXX: Deut. 10.17; 2 Chron. 2.4; 2 Esra 5.8; 18.6; Ps. 85.10; Isa. 26.4; Jer. 39.18; Dan. 2.45.

64. See Spicq, *Épîtres Pastorales*, p. 786: there was a traditional bond between Torah and 'making wise'.

to righteousness. The difference is not insignificant but for our purposes,⁶⁵ a reference to Deut. 9.5 can be excluded: The phrase under discussion is not an example of 'biblical' but of 'Pauline language'.

Conclusion

As far as explicit Scripture references in general are concerned, Deuteronomy does not play a major role for the Pastorals. The author of these letters is not inclined (and presumably not able) to refer extensively to Scripture passages in his reasoning. But nevertheless the testimony of Scripture is of vital importance for these letters (see 2 Tim. 3.14-17), in all probability because of the role Scripture played for the opponents: Scripture could not be left to them. Within this narrow range, Deuteronomy is not irrelevant for the Pastorals. There is one explicit quotation which is introduced as Scripture (γραφή), at least partially taken from Deuteronomy, and applied to an issue of vital importance for these letters: church order and community leadership. There is a possible allusion in the reference to the rule of two or three witnesses. And some of the 'biblical language' could stem from Deuteronomy, though it also occurs elsewhere.

A distinctive feature of these letters in general is also true for the Scripture references, and accordingly for the role of Deuteronomy: the attachment to tradition ('Traditionsgebundenheit'), not only to Pauline tradition but also, in a broader sense, to that of the Hellenistic world and particularly to Hellenistic Judaism.⁶⁶ With regard to biblical language, this characteristic is obvious, but it counts also for the identifiable Scripture references. In the case of the Deuteronomy passages cited or alluded to in the Pastorals, that attachment to tradition becomes apparent in the fact that the possible allusion is probably a principle of church discipline and that the quotation and application of Deut. 25.4 is based on Pauline tradition.

At first glance, these results might be disappointing for those interested in the role of the Scripture in the New Testament, but they should not be seen as wholly negative. The importance and the effect of Scripture is not limited to those cases in which Scripture is cited expressly and intentionally. There is also a more subtle presence of the Old Testament in the New thus corroborating the fact that the New Testament cannot be understood adequately without the Old. This is true even if the Pastoral Epistles do not reflect the fact that the Scripture is a heritage

65. It is easy to imagine that those who regard the Pastorals as authentic writings stress the common features between Tit. 3.5 and the undisputed letters of Paul. They refer to the theological idea of justification by grace, 'a totally Pauline thought', see Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 448. But why this rather un-Pauline phrasing? As Hanson, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 191, puts it: 'Paul would never use *dikaïosunē* (righteousness) in this way', and this means: as a virtue. 'Works done in righteousness' are 'righteous works'.

66. This is a broadly held view, see for example Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles*, p. 60: The Pastorals belong 'to second generation Christianity, still in contact with Hellenistic Judaism'.

taken over from Israel. Without further ado, the Scripture is read as addressed to the Christian church. For us today, because of our theological sensibility that God's covenant was with Israel and has never been abrogated by God, we cannot ignore the fact that the Scriptures were originally given to Israel. But even these letters, despite their limitations, testify to the fundamental role Scripture plays for the understanding of the early Christian tradition.

Chapter 9

DEUTERONOMY IN HEBREWS

Gert J. Steyn

Introduction

The fact of Pentateuchal influence on the writers of the New Testament, and particularly their use of Deuteronomy, is widely accepted in scholarly circles today. Substantial evidence for this is found in the explicit quotations,¹ references,² allusions³ and broader motifs.⁴ The presence of quotations from Deuteronomy reflects the attitude of the New Testament writers towards the Jewish Law and customs, at a time when early Christianity was still positioning itself – sometimes alongside, other times in opposition to it. The role of the *Shema* and the Decalogue is obvious in this regard and it occurs in almost all of the New Testament books that quote from Deuteronomy.

Along with Romans, Mark, Matthew, and Luke-Acts, Hebrews is identified as one of the New Testament books that quoted the most from Deuteronomy. It also contains the quotations closest to the beginning and to the end of Deuteronomy. Ellingworth pointed out that although ‘the earlier chapters of Deuteronomy are not neglected’, ‘the author shows particular interest in its final chapters’.⁵ But all of the (suggested) Deuteronomy quotations in Hebrews are short and fragmentary when compared to the same author’s quotations from the Psalms and the Prophets. This raises some questions: Did he quote from memory rather than from a written text? Did he know these phrases from the early Jewish or early Christian traditions? What role did the liturgical traditions play here? Should these brief

1. Almost always exclusively introduced with a proper and identifiable introductory formula.
2. Conscious reference by the author to an element or aspect of a text, but not meant to be a quotation.
3. In the words of W. C. Kaiser: ‘Allusions may be clauses, phrases or even a single word, and, therefore, we may not always be sure that the New Testament writer deliberately intended that the Old Testament connection should be made in the minds of his readers’ (*The Uses of the Old Testament in the New* [Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1985], p. 2). However, one could not always be sure whether the author himself was consciously aware of the allusion. It could be merely the result of common knowledge of the religious tradition or scriptural influence on the language of the day.
4. Consisting of a number of elements from a particular document or collection of documents about a particular theme.
5. P. Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 39.

Deuteronomic phrases be seen as conscious references or allusions, rather than explicit quotations, especially in the light of the absence of clear introductory formulae and in most cases, differences in wording?

Synopsis of Quotations, References and Allusions Attributed to Deuteronomy

In comparing the lists provided by Swete,⁶ Büchel,⁷ Archer and Chirichigno⁸ and NA²⁷, there are nine possible quotations in Hebrews, most of which are also found elsewhere in the New Testament (and Philo).⁹

Heb. 1.6	Rom. 15.10	Deut. 32.43 [Moses' Song]
Heb. 10.28	Mk 14.56; Jn 8.7	Deut. 17.6
Heb. 10.30	Rom. 10.19; 12.19	Deut. 32.35-36 [Moses' Song]
Heb. 12.3		Deut. 20.3
Heb. 12.15	Acts 8.23	Deut. 29.17(18)
Heb. 12.18+19		Deut. 4.11+12
Heb. 12.21		Deut. 9.19
Heb. 12.29	(Rom. 10.6a = Deut. 9.4)	Deut. 4.24/9.3
Heb. 13.5	Philo, <i>Conf.</i> 166	Deut. 31.6 (Josh. 1.5?)

Two features are also worth noting at the outset. Firstly, unlike the Psalm quotations (and Jeremiah), the texts are not quoted with reference to divine authority. Ellingworth is thus of the opinion that the author possibly 'felt that the authority of the Pentateuch did not need to be affirmed',¹⁰ which in itself conveys the attitude that the author of Hebrews had with regard to the Torah, and especially with regard to Deuteronomy. Another interesting phenomenon is the fact that, except for Heb. 1.6 (and it is questionable whether it really belongs to the Deuteronomy quotations – see below), all of the quotations are to be found in the latter part of Hebrews, between Heb. 10.28 and Heb. 13.5.

A closer look at these nine identified 'quotations' from Deuteronomy shows, however, that there are strictly speaking *only four explicit quotations*: Deut. 32.43 LXX (Ode 2) in Heb. 1.6; Deut. 32.35-36 in Heb. 10.30-31; Deut. 9.19 in Heb. 12.21, and Deut. 31.6 in Heb. 13.5. At least four of the instances usually identified

6. H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), p. 383.

7. C. Büchel, 'Der Hebräerbrief und das Alte Testament', *Studien und Kritiken* 79 (1906), pp. 508-91.

8. For a synopsis, see G. L. Archer and G. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago: Moody Bible Press, 1983), pp. 34-48.

9. Scholars apply different criteria to identify 'quotations' and some include references and allusions also as 'quotations'. M. Karrer counts, for instance, 13 quotations for the Pentateuch as a whole (*Der Brief an die Hebräer: Kapitel 1, 1-5, 10* [ÖTK 20/1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002], p. 62) whereas I. H. Eybers identified 25 for Deuteronomy only ('Hoe gebruik die Skrifte die Skrifte?', *Theologia Evangelica* 2 [1969], pp. 82-93, here p. 83).

10. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, pp. 38-39.

as quotations should rather be counted as *allusions* (all of them in Hebrews 12)¹¹ and the remaining one as an intended *reference*.¹² Furthermore, a number of these nine cases occur as quotations in early Christian literature, or, as in the case of the very last quotation listed above, by the Jewish writer, Philo (*Conf.* 166). Of particular interest are those that occur in Romans, for the unknown author of Hebrews quotes from the context immediately preceding a quotation (Deut. 9.3 in Hebrews and Deut. 9.4 in Romans) and also alludes to the following context of a quotation that occurred in Romans (Deut. 29.17 in Hebrews and Deut. 29.3 in Romans). Furthermore, from all the books in the New Testament that contain quotations from Deuteronomy, it is only Hebrews and Romans that explicitly quote from Deuteronomy 32, the 'Song of Moses'. Hebrews' possible familiarity with the books of Paul and the connection between Paul's letter to the Romans (Rome) and Hebrews' addressees (also possibly Rome?) will, however, not be discussed here.

The Song of Moses (Deut. 31.30–32.44)

Gheorghita¹³ has recently confirmed the numerous allusions to Deuteronomy 31–33 in Hebrews. This is no strange phenomenon, due to a number of reasons:

- This part was well known as it contains the Song of Moses.¹⁴ It can be assumed that the *Canticum Mosis* was a familiar song among the Jews. Its presence amongst the Odes in Codex A of the LXX (at the end of the *corpus* of the Psalms) also points in this direction.
- The author of Hebrews compares the superiority of the Son with the role of Moses. This inevitably involved considering the farewell address of the great mediator of the Law.
- The number of references to and explicit quotations from this section of Deuteronomy in Hebrews is striking, so that it is not strange to also find a fair amount of allusions to this section.
- The liturgical connections of Deuteronomy 32 and Psalm 135 with the festival¹⁵ cult of the Israelite covenant community¹⁶ might throw some

11. Deut. 20.3 in Heb. 12.3; Deut. 29.17 in Heb. 12.15; Deut. 4.11–12 in Heb. 12.18–19, and Deut. 4.24 / 9.3 in Heb. 12.29.

12. Deut. 17.6 in Heb. 10.28.

13. R. Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews. An Investigation of Its Influence with Special Consideration to the Use of Hab 2.3–4 in Heb 10.37–38* (WUNT, 160; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), p. 95.

14. Cf. G. A. F. Knight, *The Song of Moses. A Theological Quarry* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), for a general commentary on the Song of Moses.

15. According to M. Barth, 'The author shows an unmistakable interest in the festivals, the holy assemblies, the cultic actions and institutions of God's people' ('The Old Testament in Hebrews: An Essay in Biblical Hermeneutics', in W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder [eds], *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation. Essays in honor of Otto A. Piper* [London: SCM, 1962], pp. 53–78, here p. 71).

16. A. Weiser pointed to the fact that Psalm 135 was literary dependent on other literary sources and that '... we can clearly see that Psalm 135 is in all its parts a liturgical hymn which was appointed to be recited antiphonally at the festival cult of the Israelite covenant community' (*The Psalms: A Commentary* [OTL; London: SCM, 1982], pp. 788, 789).

light on the covenant motif as found in Hebrews. The covenant festival was, according to Weiser,¹⁷ an annually repeated sacred act of the renewal of the Covenant and is attested in the Qumran *Manual of Discipline* 2.10 (although further evidence of such an annual festival is scarce).

- The first-century CE *Testament of Moses* (alternatively known as the *Assumption of Moses*) is 'framed around the end of the book of Deuteronomy' 31–34,¹⁸ with evidence of an existing second-century BCE original.¹⁹ This in itself is an indication of the importance that this section of Deuteronomy had for early Judaism.

Deut. 32.43 LXX (Ode 2) in Heb. 1.6

An explicit quotation from the *Canticum Mosis* is to be found in Heb. 1.6 ('Let all God's angels worship him').²⁰ There are three different strands of the tradition to be identified in a comparison between the quotation in Heb. 1.6 and the available intertexts. Strand A consists of the MT, but when turning to Deut. 32.43 in the Hebrew of the MT, the line quoted in Heb. 1.6 is absent. It is thus clear that this version was not used for the quotation.

Strand B is represented by Deuteronomy 32 (LXX) which contains an expanded reading covering eight lines at this point, '... of which it is not easy to decide how many belong to the original translator'.²¹ Also belonging to this strand is the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy discovered at Qumran²² (4QDeut^a). The line quoted in Hebrews is again present here (line 2) – confirming the reading also υἱοὶ θεοῦ: 'the (sons) of God' / 'all the gods' as does Deuteronomy 32 (LXX)!²³ Also line 3 (quoted in Rom. 15.10) and line 4 from the LXX version are present in this Hebrew version of 4QDeut^a. The occurrence of these lines in 4QDeut^a thus confirms thus that these lines had a Hebrew *Vorlage* which was known in Qumran.²⁴ Whether

17. Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 32 n. 2.

18. Cf. J. Priest, 'Testament of Moses', in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 919–34, here p. 923.

19. Cf. J. L. Kugel and R. A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), p. 76.

20. See G. J. Steyn, 'A Quest for the *Vorlage* of the Song of Moses (Dt 32) Quotations in Hebrews', *Neotestamentica* 34 (2000), pp. 263–72.

21. P. Katz, 'The Quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews', *ZNW* 49 (1958), pp. 213–23, here p. 217.

22. The text was first published and discussed by P. W. Skehan ('A Fragment of the Song of Moses [Deut 32] from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 [1954], pp. 12–15). He later added some fragments ('Qumran and the Present State of O.T. Text Studies: The Masoretic Text', *JBL* 78 [1959], pp. 21–5). W. F. Albright supplied a reconstruction of the text ('New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible', *BASOR* 140 [1955], pp. 32–3). Cf. also S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

23. There seem to be differences in the reconstruction of this line. E. Nielsen (*Deuteronomium* [HAT 1/6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], p. 28) takes it as בְּלִי יְהוָה, whilst P. W. Skehan pointed to further fragments which lead to the reconstruction of בְּנֵי יְהוָה. ('The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy [32.1–43]', in D. L. Christensen (ed.), *A Song of Power and the Power of Song. Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1993], pp. 156–68, here pp. 167–8).

24. Cf. Skehan, 'Fragment', pp. 12–15, and E. Grässer, *An die Hebräer*: 1. Teilband. *Hebr 1–6* (EKKNT, XVII/1; Zürich: Benziger, 1990).

4QDeut⁴ (dating from the first half of the first century CE) was a copy that was made for personal reading²⁵ or a 'special use' liturgical text,²⁶ it seems to have contained only the Song of Moses (Deut. 32.1-43).²⁷

Strand C is represented by the version to be found in the second Ode, belonging to a group of selected odes, prayers and hymns that are bound in just after the Psalms in Codex Alexandrinus of the LXX²⁸ (and to be clearly distinguished from the Odes of Solomon). Heb. 1.6 is closest to this version, with both reading ἄγγελοι θεοῦ – the latter with the definite article.

Heb. 1.6	Deut. 32.43 LXX	Ode 2 LXX ^a
Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ

Thus the statement that the quotation in Hebrews corresponds exactly to Deut. 32.43 in the Song of Moses,²⁹ or that it is a quotation from Deuteronomy,³⁰ needs qualifying: to which version is one referring? Von Rad already pointed out that '(t)he so-called Song of Moses is a long widely ranging poem which came into existence quite independently of Deuteronomy'.³¹ It represents a complex textual tradition and one should ask whether the author translated his quotation from the same version as 4QDeut⁴, or whether he used a LXX translation representing the same text tradition as that found in 4QDeut⁴. The question whether the text that he is quoting from was a written or orally transmitted text is an irrelevant one, as the orally transmitted text represents a written account somewhere along the tradition. Thus he might have had access to the scrolls in his synagogue or the liturgy during the services held there or both. The fact of the matter is that the author of Hebrews is quoting the particular tradition that refers to the 'angels of God', which is closest to that found in the Odes (of Codex A). This not only suited his argument that Christ is different from the angels (Heb. 1.5) and that God said that the angels should worship Christ, it was probably also the version known to him

25. Cf. E. Tov, 'Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran', *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1995), pp. 581–600 (referred to by J. H. Baumgarten, 'Scripture and Law in 4Q265', in M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon [eds], *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Leiden: Brill, 1998], pp. 25–33, here p. 29).

26. P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalm Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ, 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 167 (n. 67) and p. 218 (n. 102).

27. Flint, *Psalms Scroll*, p. 167 (n. 67) and p. 218 (n. 102); A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QmidrEschaf^a)*. *Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ('Florilegium') und 4Q177 ('Catena A') repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 181, note 3.

28. Appended to Codex A (4th/5th cent. CE), Codex R (Veronensis, 6th cent. CE), Codex T (Turiensis, 7th cent. CE) and Minuscule 55 (10th century CE).

29. For example, H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 57; H. J. B. Combrink, 'Some Thoughts on the Old Testament Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews', *Neotestamentica* 5 (1971), pp. 22–36, here p. 27.

30. Cf., for instance, NA²⁷; R. G. Bratcher, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1961), p. 57; Katz, *Quotations*, pp. 217–19.

31. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1988), p. 195.

from the liturgical tradition.³² With this he indicated that God himself acknowledged the divinity of Christ. The quoted text is taken out of its context and applied to Christ. Its meaning is made ambiguous with the pronoun αὐτῷ ('him'),³³ which originally referred to God, but now refers to Christ. The previous attempts of Swete,³⁴ Katz,³⁵ Archer and Chirichigno³⁶ and Weiss³⁷ to explain the change from 'sons' to 'angels' by means of some influence or conflation with Ps. 96.7 (LXX) are not convincing³⁸ for they do not take the other versions of 4QDeut⁴ and Odes³⁹ fully into account.

It is interesting that Heb. 1.2 opens with the same thought as that which is just prior to the Song of Moses in Deut. 31.29: ἔσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν. According to Moses' Song, 'when the Most High apportioned the nations, when he divided humankind, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of God's angels' (Deut. 32.8). However, the author of Hebrews makes it clear that 'God did not subject the coming world, about which we are speaking, to angels' (Heb. 2.5). Furthermore, both Moses (Deut. 32.20) and the author of Hebrews (Heb. 3.12ff.) warn about the danger of apostasy.

Deut. 32.35-36 in Heb. 10.30

An interesting phenomenon takes place with the presentation of an explicit quotation from Deut. 32.35-36 in Heb. 10.30-31 ('Vengeance is mine, I will repay' And again, 'The Lord will judge his people'). Being part of Moses' speech in Deuteronomy, the author of Hebrews introduces the quotation with the formula, 'for we know him who said' as a so-called 'Jesus saying',⁴⁰ that is, as if these are the direct words of Jesus himself.

There are a number of possible intertexts to be consulted here when considering the possible *Vorlage* of this quotation, which can be grouped into three major strands. Strand A is represented in the newly recovered reading of Symmachus,

32. S. J. Kistemaker, *The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam: Van Soest, 1961), pp. 22-3; G. van den Brink, 'De Schrift zegt of de Schrift fantaseert? (2) Het gebruik van het Oude Testament in Hebreeën', in A. G. Knevel et al. (eds), *Bijbel en Exegese: Verkenningen in de katholieke brieven en Hebreeën* (Theologische Verkenningen, 7; Kampen: Kok Voorhoeve, 1993), pp. 211-17.

33. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 57.

34. Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, p. 383.

35. Katz, *Quotations*, p. 217. He also reckons that '... since ἄγγελοι and υἱοί, and other words too, are interchanged in some classes of LXX MSS (but not in A ...!), nothing can be taken from this quotation to define the precise nature of the source of Hebrews' (*Quotations*, p. 219). Katz, amongst others, never takes the Odes-version into account as well.

36. Archer and Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations*, p. 51.

37. H.-F. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), p. 163.

38. Similarly also Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, p. 42.

39. So also Kistemaker: '... it may be assumed that the quotation has been part of the Hymn of Moses (Odes), which was securely incorporated in the liturgy of the Church' (*Psalm Citations*, pp. 22-3).

40. For a discussion on these quotations, cf. G. J. Steyn, 'Jesus-Sayings' in Hebrews', *ETL* 77 (2001), pp. 433-40.

4QDeut^a, the MT, Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta. Howard has pointed out that the quotation as a whole is closer to the Targum of Onkelos and to the Peshitta,⁴¹ whereas Fernández Marcos has drawn attention to ‘new fragments of the Syro-Hexaplaric version (which have) increased the number of Symmachian readings before the historical Symmachus’.⁴² He concludes that the ‘new reading of Symmachus recovered for Dt. 32.35 ... is probably the source of this curious quotation in Rom. 12.19 and Heb. 10.30’.⁴³

Strand B can be seen in Deut. 32 (LXX), Ode 2 of Codex A and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Strand C are quotations from the Song of Moses, with Deut. 32.35-36a (Heb. 10.30) quoted in Rom. 12.19 and Deut. 32.36b quoted in 2 Macc. 7.6.⁴⁴ The first part of the quotation corresponds exactly with the version in Rom. 12.19 (strand C) against the readings of Deut. 32 (LXX) and Ode 2 (strand B). Both the readings of Rom. 12.19 and Heb. 10.30 are closer to the Hebrew and the Syro-Hexaplaric fragment (strand A).⁴⁵ The texts are as follows:

Heb. 10.30	A. Deut. 32.35-36 Syro-Hexaplaric	B. Deut. 32.35-36 LXX Ode 2 LXX ^a	C. Rom. 12.19 + 2 Macc. 7.6
ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω (Vengeance is mine, I will repay)	ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσεις καὶ ἀνταποδώσω	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω, ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν, καὶ πάρεστιν ἑτοιμα ὑμῖν. ὅτι	Rom. 12.19 ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος
κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ (The Lord will judge his people)		κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται	2 Macc. 7.6 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται

41. G. Howard, ‘Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations’, *NovT* 10 (1968), pp. 208–16, here p. 213.

42. N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 137.

43. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, p. 138. Cf. also W. Baars, *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 148.

44. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, p. 263.

45. G. Harder, ‘Die Septuagintazitate des Hebräerbriefs’, in M. Albertz, H. Asmussen *et al.* (eds), *Theologia Viatorum: Theologische Aufsätze* (Munich: Kaiser, 1939), pp. 33–52, here p. 50. Cf. also D.-A. Koch: ‘... eine Textanführung die dem MT nähersteht als der LXX, das Zitat von Dtn 32,35a in Röm 12,19, das in gleicher Form auch in Hebr 10,30 vorliegt’ (*Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*. [BHT, 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986], p. 77), and ‘Als Textgrundlage hat grundsätzlich die Septuaginta zu gelten, auch wenn (wie im Falle der Deuteronomium-Zitate) mit sekundärer Angleichung der Textvorlage an eine hebräische Vorlage zu rechnen ist’ (‘Schriftauslegung II’, *TRE* 30 [1999], pp. 457–71, here p. 465).

Some of the New Testament textual witnesses have the insertion of λέγει κύριος after ἀνταποδώσω. The reading, though, as it is printed in the reconstructed text of NA²⁷ is to be preferred. Koch points out that Paul also adds λέγει κύριος in Rom. 12.19. The fact that Hebrews omits it, proves for him that the quotation in Heb. 10.30 cannot be ascribed to Paul.⁴⁶

In Heb. 10.26–28 the author of Hebrews refers to disobedience to the Law of Moses and to the punishment of execution on the testimony of two or three witnesses. He paraphrases Deut. 17.6 to make his point (see the next paragraph). In Heb. 10.29–31 disobedience to the Law of Moses is now contrasted with spurning the Son of God, profaning the blood of the covenant and outraging the Spirit of grace. To make his point on this matter, our author quotes Deut. 32.35–36 which serves as a reminder about divine judgement. The emphatic positions of ἐμοί and ἐγώ, as well as the strategic position of κύριος, confirm this.

Deut. 17.6 in Heb. 10.28

Although scholars generally take Heb. 10.28 ('on the testimony of two or three witnesses') as another explicit quotation from Deuteronomy,⁴⁷ it should probably be treated as a conscious reference or an allusion. There is no introductory formula or signal that an explicit quotation is intended⁴⁸ and neither the precise wording of the MT or of the LXX are followed. Ellingworth calls it an 'abbreviated quotation'.⁴⁹ There are two other passages (Deut. 19.15 and Num. 35.30) with similar wording which could be in mind but Deut. 17.6 is the closest parallel.⁵⁰ Grässer refers to three localities for the law about two or more witnesses and indicates that the author explicitly combines Deut. 17.6 with Num. 35.30.⁵¹ Whatever the case may be, it seems more likely that our author refers here to the matter of the witnesses by paraphrasing the first sentence of Deut. 17.6: ἐπὶ δυσὶν (μάρτυσιν) ἢ (ἐπὶ) τρισὶν μάρτυσιν [ἀποθανεῖται ὁ ἀποθνήσκων.] He omits the words indicated here between brackets and replaces the phrase between square brackets with an indicative form. Textual evidence amongst the LXX witnesses that might support these changes is weak and belongs to younger witnesses.⁵² Attridge is therefore correct in assuming that our author has probably simplified the cumbersome phrase by eliminating the first noun and 'the main predication, with its awkward translation of a Hebrew infinite absolute'.⁵³ Add to this also the omission of the second ἐπί. According to Deut. 17.6, execution can thus take place on the testimony of two or three witnesses – an issue thus referred to here by the author

46. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, p. 77 n. 96.

47. Contra Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 294 n. 32 who calls it a 'citation'.

48. Also Archer and Chirichigno (*Old Testament Quotations*) do not list this as a quotation in their synopsis.

49. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, p. 537.

50. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, p. 537.

51. Grässer, *Hebräer*, p. 43.

52. Cf. J. W. Wevers, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol. III, 2. Deuteronomium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), p. 215.

53. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 294.

of Hebrews in 10.28, and an issue that was already alluded to in Mark 14.56 and John 8.7, which in turn, serves as an indication of the familiarity of this tradition in the New Testament.

By referring to the confirmation of two or three witnesses on disobedience to the Law of Moses and execution as punishment (Heb. 10.26-28), our author contrasts that with disobedience to the Son of God, the blood of the covenant and the Spirit of grace (Heb. 10.30 – see above). It might be that our author intended the latter three to be witnesses testifying about the rejection of Christ’s sacrifice for sins (Heb. 10.11ff.).

Deut. 20.3 in Heb. 12.3

Deut. 20.3 encourages the people of Israel not to lose heart, or be afraid, or panic, or be in dread of their enemies. The author of Hebrews alludes to the same attitude in Heb. 12.3 when he tells his addressees to ‘Consider him who endured such hostility against himself from sinners, so that you may not grow weary or lose heart’. There is no introductory formula or signal that an explicit quotation is intended.⁵⁴ Furthermore, it is only loosely based on the LXX of Deut. 20.3:

<i>Heb. 12.3</i>	<i>Deut. 20.3 LXX</i>
ἵνα μὴ κάμῃτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκλυόμενοι μὴ ἐκλυέσθω ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν	

Deut. 29.17(18) in Heb. 12.15

In Deut. 29.17(18) the phrase ‘root of bitterness’ refers to the Israelites who had become involved in idolatry. According to Oberholtzer, “The “root of bitterness” parallels the developing of a hardened, unbelieving heart in Hebrews 3.12 and includes leading others to withdraw from the community into apostasy.”⁵⁵

<i>Heb. 12.15</i>	<i>Deut. 29.17 LXX</i>
μή τις ρίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλή ⁵⁶	μή τις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ρίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ ⁵⁷ καὶ πικρίᾳ ⁵⁸

It seems as if a phrase has been quoted explicitly from Deut. 29.17(18), as it agrees almost verbatim with the passage in Deuteronomy. However, the author of

54. Also Archer and Chirichigno (*Old Testament Quotations*) do not list this as a quotation in their synopsis.

55. T. K. Oberholtzer, ‘The Failure to Heed His Speaking in Hebrews 12.25-29. Part 5 of The Warning Passages in Hebrews’, *BSac* 146/581 (1989), pp. 67–75, here p. 68.

56. The variant ἐνοχλ[.]λη is read by P⁴⁶.

57. ἐνοχλη (the reading as in Heb. 12.15) is attested by the original of Codex B and by Codex A in the LXX. This issue was discussed extensively by Katz, *Quotations*, pp. 213–23.

58. ρίζα πικρίας (the reading as found in Heb. 12.15) is attested by Codex A and F in the LXX. Only these, and at the most not more than one minuscule supports the reading.

Hebrews gives no indication in Heb. 12.15 that this is intended to be an explicit quotation⁵⁹ and an introductory formula is lacking. The author of Hebrews rather alludes to Deut. 29.17 in Heb. 12.15, or paraphrases the issue as neither the exact words, nor the word order is maintained. Acts 8.23 also alludes to this passage and it is even more likely that we have here simply familiarity with ‘scriptural language’.

Deut. 4.11-12 in Heb. 12.18-19

Heb. 12.18-19	Deut. 4.11-12
You have not come to something that can be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and a voice whose words made the hearers beg that not another word be spoken to them.	you approached and stood at the foot of the mountain while the mountain was blazing up to the very heavens, shrouded in dark clouds. Then the LORD spoke to you out of the fire. You heard the sound of words but saw no form; there was only a voice.

The *Book of Jubilees*, possibly written by a Jew in Palestine during the second century BCE, is an important source for the character of Moses. Russell pointed out that Jubilees ‘is a form of midrash on Genesis and Exodus 1–12 and is written in the form of a revelation given to Moses on Mount Sinai during the forty days he spent there’.⁶⁰ This serves as evidence that the particular event of Moses on mount Sinai played an important role in the religious heritage of the Jews.

The event during which Moses received the Law at Mount Sinai is also described in vivid detail in Deut. 4.11-12. It describes how the people were gathered at the foot of the mountain whilst it ‘was blazing up to the very heavens, shrouded in dark clouds’. Then the Lord spoke to them out of the fire. They just heard the words and his voice but did not see him.

The author of Hebrews alludes to this passage in Heb. 12.18-19. There is no introductory formula or intention of an explicit quotation.⁶¹ These are merely allusions to the theme of God’s revelation at Sinai as found in the related passage from Deut. 4.11-12. The author of Hebrews tells his readers that they ‘have not come to something that can be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and a voice whose words made the hearers beg that not another word be spoken to them’. Without having to quote explicitly from any appropriate passage in this regard, the author uses the imagery that described the event at Sinai when Moses received the Law. He reinterprets

59. Also Archer and Chirichigno (*Old Testament Quotations*) do not list this as a quotation in their synopsis.

60. D. S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), p. 96.

61. Also Archer and Chirichigno (*Old Testament Quotations*) do not list this in their synopsis as a quotation.

the imagery in terms of his readers and in the light of Jesus as the better mediator (Heb. 12.24).

Deut. 9.19 in Heb. 12.21

Heb. 12.21	Deut. 9.19
Indeed, so terrifying was the sight that Moses said, ‘I tremble with fear’. (ἐκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἐντρομος)	For I was afraid (ἐκφοβός εἰμι) that the anger that the LORD bore against you was so fierce that he would destroy you.

In Deut. 9.19, Moses states his fear concerning the anger of God and the reason for it. The author of Hebrews quotes very briefly from this passage in Heb. 12.21. There is a clear introductory formula (‘Indeed, so terrifying was the sight that Moses said’) which marks the phrase that follows as an intended explicit quotation from the mouth of Moses. The expression τὸ φανταζόμενον (‘the sight’) in the parenthesis of the introductory formula is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament and the only occurrence in early Christian literature. The actual quotation of what Moses would have said and which follows after this introductory formula, contains only part of the actual words to be found in Deut. 9.19. The rest of the words, supposedly from Moses, which occurs in Heb. 12.21 (καὶ ἐντρομος – ‘I am trembling with fear’) is nowhere to be found amongst any of the known textual witnesses of either the LXX or the MT. There is also no evidence of any New Testament textual witnesses that omit this phrase and it is certainly part of Hebrews’ text. The only difference, in fact, between Heb. 12.21 and Deut. 9.19 LXX is this addition of καὶ ἐντρομος by the author of Hebrews – probably with the rhetorical function of describing the fear in more vivid terms. ‘Trembling’ seems to have a particular function in Hebrews and seems to be closely connected to the presence of God. The word occurs only three times in the New Testament: here in Heb. 12.21 and then in Acts 7.32 and Acts 16.29.

Heb. 12.18–21 describe the circumstances in which the Jews received the old covenant: *You have not come to ...* The section ends in the quotation from Deut. 9.19 with Moses’ fear and to which our author added him ‘trembling’ as well. This is contrasted with the circumstances of the new covenant in the next section, Heb. 12.22–24: *But you have come to ...* This section ends with the reference to Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant.

Deut. 4.24/9.3 in Heb. 12.29

Heb. 12.29	Deut. 4.24	Deut. 9.3
for indeed our God is a consuming fire. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον	For the LORD your God (ὁ θεός) is a devouring fire, a jealous God (πῦρ καταναλίσκον).	Know then today that the LORD your God (ὁ θεός) is the one who crosses over before you as a devouring fire (πῦρ καταναλίσκον).

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Based mainly on the imagery of Deuteronomy 4, the author of Hebrews describes the very nature of God to be *a consuming fire* (καὶ γάρ⁶² ὁ θεός⁶³ ἡμῶν⁶⁴ πῦρ καταναλίσκον, Heb. 12.29).⁶⁵ He does this by using familiar phrases from Deut. 4.24 and 9.3 (Deut. 9.4 was already quoted in Rom. 10.6a). Both the lack of an introductory formula as well as the brief text that coincides here with similar phrases in Deuteronomy, point in the direction of an allusion, rather than to an explicit quotation. It is a similar case as that of Heb. 12.15 – a few verses earlier. The author uses familiar phrases, or a familiar concept, as an expression of the identity of God. It is a conscious allusion, using known ‘scriptural language’ from his time. ‘It seems to adopt the key phrase of Deut 4.24 as a very authoritative pronouncement concerning the judicial severity of God.’⁶⁶

Deut. 31.6 in Heb. 13.5

Close to the end of his book, the author of Hebrews urges his readers to keep their lives free from the love of money and to be content with what they have⁶⁷ (Heb. 13.5-6). This directive is explicitly linked with a quotation from Deut. 31.6 to remind them about the very gist of the covenant: ‘Never will I leave you, never will I forsake you’ (οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ’ οὐ⁶⁸ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω,⁶⁹ Heb. 13.5). It is clearly meant to be an explicit quotation and is properly introduced with an introductory formula, ‘because he has said’, which refers to God as the speaker of the words to follow. Furthermore, there is a change in the quotation itself from the *third* person singular forms of Deuteronomy (ἀνῆ, ἐγκαταλίπη) to the *first* person singular forms of Hebrews (ἀνῶ, ἐγκαταλίπω) in order to present the words from Deuteronomy as direct speech from God himself.

<i>Heb. 13.5</i>	<i>Philo, Conf. 166</i>	<i>Deut. 31.6 LXX</i>
οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω	οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω	οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη

It is not easy to locate the quotation. Possibilities include Deut. 31.6, Gen. 28.15,⁷⁰ Josh. 1.5⁷¹ and 1 Chron. 28.20 (LXX). Although the actual form of the quotation is

62. The ὅτι of Deut. 4.24 and Deut. 9.3 is replaced with καὶ γάρ in Heb. 12.29.

63. Heb. 12.29 omits κύριος which appears before ὁ θεός in both Deut. 4.24 and Deut. 9.3.

64. Whereas both Deut. 4.24 and Deut. 9.3 read the *second person* personal pronoun as a genitive *singular* (σου), Heb. 12.29 reads it as a *first person* personal pronoun genitive *plural* (ἡμῶν). It is the only place in Hebrews where the expression ὁ θεός ἡμῶν is found.

65. Some scholars have suggested that the original text of Hebrews ended here.

66. Archer and Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations*, p. 35.

67. Cf. also Mt. 6.24 (Lk. 16.13) and Mt. 6.31–34 (Lk. 12.29–32).

68. Deut. 31.6 (LXX): οὔτε reads οὐδ’ οὐ in Codex Alexandrinus.

69. Some witnesses (P⁴⁶ B A C D² Ψ 0243. 0285. 33. 1739. 1881 M) read ἐγκαταλείπω instead of ἐγκαταλίπω (D⁸ 81. 326. 365. 629. 630. 945. 1175. 1241^s. 1505 *al*).

70. P. Katz, ‘Οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω Hebr. Xiii.5. The Biblical Source of the Quotation’, *Biblica* 33 (1952), pp. 523–5; Katz, *Quotations*, pp. 220–21.

71. B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 434; H. Montefiore, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Black, 1979), pp. 240–41; R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ALGHJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 570.

unsupported in the surviving manuscripts of the Old Greek Version,⁷² the Deut. 31.6 option as a possible *locus*, seems to be the best choice.⁷³ Both the MT and the LXX read the same at this point, but differ from the reading of Heb. 13.5. Interestingly, though, is the fact that the reading agrees exactly⁷⁴ with that of Philo of Alexandria (*Conf.* 166) against the MT and the LXX.⁷⁵ Scholars usually ascribe this tendency between Hebrews and Philo to an adaptation of Philo's text by a later Christian hand. This is debatable as there are cases of the very same quotation that occur more than once in Philo and which were left unchanged at other places.⁷⁶ Büchel was of the opinion that the author of Hebrews took it from Philo,⁷⁷ but it is more probable according to Kuss⁷⁸ that both Philo and Hebrews independently used a special Greek translation of Deut. 31.6.

Motifs from Deuteronomy in Hebrews

Not much attention had been paid in the past by scholars to the role that Deuteronomy played in Hebrews. There are some obvious reasons for this, such as the prominence of the Psalm quotations, or the fact that there are indeed not many explicit quotations from Deuteronomy to be found in Hebrews. The whole issue of Deuteronomistic influence in Hebrews should be approached from another angle rather than merely looking at it through the lenses of the explicit quotations. The fact that there are a fair amount of allusions, references and linguistic similarities to be found from Deuteronomy in Hebrews, points in another direction. By looking at all these inter-textual relations in a holistic manner, one can build a far better picture of the presence of some prominent motifs from Deuteronomy in Hebrews. The allusions, references, quotations and linguistic similarities are clues that are pointing towards particular *motifs* from Deuteronomy that played a role during the writing process of the ancient author. It is clear that at least the motifs of the covenant, Moses and that of the priesthood and cultic life are featuring prominently. It is after all part of the purpose of the author of Hebrews to show that the revelation that comes through Jesus is superior to that which came through Moses and the priests.⁷⁹ The connection with Moses as mediator of the Law, on the one hand, and the mediatory work of the priests, on the other hand, would thus

72. W. L. Lane, *Hebrews 9–13* (WBC 47b; Dallas: Word, 1998), p. 519.

73. Cf. G. J. Steyn, 'The Occurrence of Ps 118(117).6 in Hebrews 13.6: Possible liturgical origins?', *Neotestamentica* 40 (2006), pp. 119–34.

74. Also Büchel, *Hebräerbrief*, p. 528.

75. So also E. Grässer, *An die Hebräer (Hebr 10,19–13,25)* (EKKNT, XVII/3; Zürich: Benzinger, 1997), p. 360.

76. Cf. G. J. Steyn, 'Torah Quotations Common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr: What is the Common Denominator?', in J. C. Breytenbach *et al.* (eds), *The New Testament Interpreted* (FS B. C. Latagan; NovTSup, 124; Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 135–51.

77. Büchel, *Hebräerbrief*, p. 528.

78. O. Kuss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1966), p. 216.

79. Cf. S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New. An Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 100.

be obvious. Nonetheless, these motifs as such are not exclusively restricted to the book of Deuteronomy.

The Covenant Motif

Just more than half of all the occurrences of the word διαθήκη (covenant) in the New Testament are to be found in the book of Hebrews and point to the prominence of this motif for that author. The Covenant motif cannot be detached from the motif of the priesthood and cultic life. The covenant motif is not exclusive to Deuteronomy and the author of Hebrews also quotes from Exodus⁸⁰ and Jeremiah⁸¹ in this regard. However, particular aspects or elements that also connect closely with Deuteronomy are present in Hebrews. The author alludes to these, simply confirming some elements from Deuteronomy at particular moments. Sometimes, however, he makes the connection with some of the elements for the sake of contrasting them in the light of his reinterpretation.

- *An eternal covenant:* Deuteronomy refers to ‘God who will not forget his covenant’ with the ancestors of Israel (Deut. 4.31; see also Deut. 8.18; 9.5). In Heb. 13.20 the same underlying idea is to be found when the author makes reference to the ‘eternal covenant’.
- *An oath by God himself:* This was a covenant that God promised ‘by oath to their ancestors’ (Deut. 7.12-13; 32.40). The author of Hebrews also explains that when God made his promise with Abraham, God made an oath with God himself ‘as there is no one greater than himself’ (Heb. 6.13-20).
- *The promised land:* When the author of Hebrews lists his ‘faith heroes’ in Hebrews 11, he mentions the patriarchs by name and states that along with Abraham, also Isaac and Jacob were heirs of the same promise (Heb. 11.9-10). He mentions that, although they all believed, they died without receiving the promise (Heb. 11.13) and they were looking for a ‘fatherland’ (πατρίδα, Heb. 11.14). According to Deut. 31.7 Moses summoned Joshua and said to him in the sight of all Israel: ‘Be strong and bold, for you are the one who will go with this people into the land that the Lord has sworn to their ancestors to give them; and you will put them in possession of it.’ The author of Hebrews picks up on this in Heb. 4.8, referring to the fact that if Joshua had given them rest, God would not speak later about ‘another day’. The author of Hebrews skilfully moves from the ‘land of rest’ to a day, or a ‘period of rest’. This ‘other day’ is ‘today’ (σήμερον) for the author of Hebrews (cf. Heb. 3.7,15) – which features along similar lines in Deuteronomy (31.21, 27). By reinterpreting the covenantal promise in this manner in Hebrews 3–4, the author draws attention to the differences between the disobedient previous generation and the current generation, that the promise is still

80. Exod. 24.8 in Heb. 9.20.

81. Jer. 31(38) in Heb. 8.8-12; 10.16-17.

valid and open, and that the covenantal 'rest' actually refers to a Sabbatical period.

- *Intended for those who are present:* Israel is told in Deut. 5.3–4 that the covenant is being made with those who are present there and then, not with their ancestors. Along similar lines, the author of Hebrews explains to his readers that they themselves did not come to a physical mountain with a burning fire, clouds of thunder, darkness, a storm wind, etc. (Heb. 12.18), but they came to mount Zion and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12.22). They came to Jesus the mediator of the *new covenant* (Heb. 12.24). The author earlier introduced the quotation from Jeremiah 31(38) – the longest quotation in the New Testament – which explains the matter of a new covenant. The author refers to this issue a number of times (Heb. 7.22; 8.6, 13; 9.15; 12.24), stating that the old covenant is now obsolete.
- The *Decalogue* itself was seen as the 'two stones of the covenant' (Deut. 9.15).⁸² Similarly the author of Hebrews regards the Decalogue as the 'law of the covenant' that resided in the ark of the covenant (Heb. 9.4).

Thus, apart from the fact that the author of Hebrews connects to the Deuteronomic ideas that the covenant is eternal, that God made an oath, and that the Decalogue is the 'law of the covenant', the author points out that the 'old covenant' lacks something, for 'if nothing lacked from the first covenant, a second would not have been necessary' (Heb. 8.7). Instead of coming to a physical mountain, his readers found themselves coming to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant.

The Moses Motif

Deuteronomy creates the expectation of the coming of a prophet like Moses⁸³ (Deut. 18.15ff.) – who is described as the greatest of Israel's prophets according to Deut. 34.10. Philo even calls him more than once a 'god'.⁸⁴ The viewpoint of the prophetic role ascribed to Moses was alive in the first century CE.⁸⁵ Without explicitly referring to these expectations, Jesus is for the author of Hebrews even greater than Moses (Heb. 3.3)! The attention being paid to the role of Moses by the author of Hebrews is in line with Hellenistic Judaism which assigned a central place to Moses.⁸⁶ 'In the Hellenistic Jewish tradition, Moses is the supreme exemplar of perfection because of his unique access to the unmediated presence of God, a feature that would explain Hebrews' sustained comparison of Moses and Jesus' (cf. Heb. 3.1–6; 8.3–5; 12.18–29; 13.20).⁸⁷

82. So also interpreted by Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, pp. 118–19.

83. Moses is seen as a prophet in Deut. 18.15; 34.10; Hos. 12.13; Sir. 46.1; Wis. 11.1.

84. For example, *Mos.* 1.158 (R. P. Martin and P. H. Davids, *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press – Logos electronic edition 2000]).

85. Cf. 4 *Ezra* 14.3–6; 2 *Bar.* 59.4–11; 84.2–5.

86. Compare *The Exodus* of Ezekiel the Tragedian (preserved by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.29) and Philo (*Mos.* 2.66–186; *Her.* 182; *Praem.* 53, 56) (Martin and Davids, *Dictionary*).

87. Martin and Davids, *Dictionary*.

Although the LXX does not use the term ‘mediator’ of Moses, both Philo⁸⁸ and Paul (Gal. 3.19) describe Moses’ role as that of mediator (μεσίτης). This becomes particularly clear from Deuteronomy 9–10. ‘Moses acted on behalf of Israel to obtain the covenant and to maintain that covenant relationship through intercession for the people when they broke faith with God.’⁸⁹ However, for the author of Hebrews, Jesus is also the better mediator (Heb. 8.6; 9.15; 12.21).

Some Aspects of the Motif of the Priesthood and the Cultic Life

Markus Barth not only pointed to the fact of Hebrews’ interest in the festivals, holy assemblies, cultic actions and institutions of God’s people, but also suspected that ‘the clusters of quotations and allusions appearing in chapters 1–2; 3–4; 5–10; 11; 12–13 may each have to do with a specific festival or feature of Israel’s worship’.⁹⁰ Although this assumption is somewhat difficult to substantiate, it is true that cultic tones are prominent in Hebrews.

i. *The Place and Nature of the Sacrifice.* Deut. 12.5–6 and 12.11–16 describe the place of the sacrifices. Descriptions of the requirements and prescriptions regarding the nature of the sacrifices themselves are found at a number of places in Deuteronomy, for instance in Deut. 15.19–16.17; 17.1; 18.10; 26.1–27.8. The whole issue of the cultic life and the repetitive nature of the sacrifices is addressed and re-interpreted by the author of Hebrews. A substantial part of the document is allocated to this theme with numerous allusions and references to the imagery of the cultic practices. By applying these to, and comparing them with, the person and death of Jesus, the author of Hebrews describes and understands Jesus to be simultaneously the (High) Priest who brings the sacrifice, as well as being the sacrifice himself when Jesus dies. This is an act of atonement for sins once and for all (cf. Heb. 4.14–5.10; 9.1–10.22).

ii. *Mediators of the Service to the Lord.* Deut. 10.8 mentions the fact that ‘the Lord set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister to him, and to bless in his name, to this day’. Also Deut. 18.1–8 describes the role of the Levite priests. The author of Hebrews, in turn, refers to the superior role of Melchizedek who did not belong to the Levites. He argues how Levi actually submitted himself via the tithing of Abraham to Melchizedek (Heb. 7.4–10). The differences between the Levite priesthood and that of Melchizedek, which is used as an example to describe the superiority of Jesus’ priesthood, are further elaborated upon in Heb. 7.11–8.6. The comparison shows that Jesus is greater than the priests who are standing ‘day after day at his service, offering again and again the same sacrifices that can never take away sins’ (Heb. 10.10).

88. Cf. Mos. 3.19.

89. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans, *Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press – Logos electronic edition 2000).

90. Barth, ‘Old Testament in Hebrews’, p. 71.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that the author of Hebrews is in dialogue with Jewish-Hellenistic Christians. He reinterprets some key aspects of their Jewish religious background and heritage in the light of Jesus as the exalted Son of God. The covenant, cultic life and the role of Moses are prominent motifs to be found in his document. These motifs are also prominent, though not restricted to Deuteronomy, and Deuteronomic influence could have played at least a partial role in their presence in the book of Hebrews. It is also clear that particular elements of these motifs can be traced back to Deuteronomy. These elements are found in the four allusions and one reference discussed above. The allusions neither follow the exact wording and word order of the Deuteronomy texts, nor are they introduced with clear introductory formulae. The author selected only certain key words to support his argument. These are used particularly in an informative sense, or as a reminder of past events. Connections with Deuteronomy 4 and 9 are striking.

But the elements of the above mentioned motifs are also to be found in the four brief explicit quotations. The latter might have been known to the author of Hebrews via the early Jewish (Philo on Deut. 31.6), early Christian (Paul on Deut. 32.35), and liturgical (Deut. 32/Ode 2) traditions. Even though there is little data in this regard, there seem to be a real possibility that the *Vorlage* of these quotations differs from both 'the' LXX and the MT. There are closer similarities with Philo of Alexandria, Paul's letter to the Romans, and with the Dead Sea Scrolls where parallel versions are available. This leaves us with the question of whether the author was familiar with and utilized another Jewish text version (in Greek) than those known to us through our LXX versions and the MT, or whether he simply quotes from and refers to Deuteronomic material familiar to him through the tradition – which, nonetheless, seems to show signs of a slightly different text. What is clear, though, is that the author interpreted Deut. 32.35-36 as direct words from Jesus, Deut. 31.6 as the direct words of God, and Deut. 32.43/Ode 2 as referring to the Son. All in all, our author applied his knowledge from Deuteronomy in an informative and a normative manner in the light of the exalted Son and the implications for the Christian community.

Chapter 10

DEUTERONOMY IN REVELATION*

Michael Tilly

Introduction

The book of Revelation is permeated by Old Testament ideas and expressions.¹ Although in Revelation Bible quotations are never marked by the usual phrases or explicitly introduced as such,² the book contains more linguistic references, implicit citations and allusions to biblical texts, themes and motifs than any other New Testament writing. More than half of these quotations and allusions as well as the 'biblical' motifs, expressions and phrases, used in the interpretation of the present of the apocalyptic author, are taken from the book of Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel.³ More than 80 passages refer to the Pentateuch, 19 of these to Deuteronomy.⁴

It is likely that the citations and allusions in Revelation, the text of which deviates from the Septuagint, do not point towards the use of a Hebrew or Aramaic version. Such divergences can rather be explained by assuming that the author used a Greek biblical text which differed from the text tradition which was later to become dominant in Christianity or – even more likely – that he quoted 'freely' and slightly modified the biblical traditions to which he referred.⁵ Similarly, the

* Many thanks to Dr Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer for the English translation of this chapter.

1. Cf. O. Böcher, 'Johannes-Apokalypse', *RAC* 18 (1998), pp. 595–646.

2. Cf. E. Lohse, 'Die alttestamentliche Sprache des Sehers Johannes', *ZNW* 52 (1961), pp. 122–6 (here: 123); F. Jenkins, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1972), p. 27; G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (JSNTSup, 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 61.

3. Cf. Böcher, 'Johannes-Apokalypse', p. 616.

4. Deut. 1.7 (Rev. 9.14), Deut. 3.11 (Rev. 21.17), Deut. 4.1f. (Rev. 22.18f.), Deut. 5.8 (Rev. 5.3), Deut. 10.17 (Rev. 17.14; 19.16), Deut. 11.6 (Rev. 12.16), Deut. 13.1 (Rev. 22.18f.), Deut. 28.35 (Rev. 16.2), Deut. 29.19f. (Rev. 22.18f.), Deut. 32.4 (Rev. 15.3f.; 16.5), Deut. 32.17 (Rev. 9.20), Deut. 32.40 (Rev. 1.18; 10.5f.), Deut. 32.43 (Rev. 6.10; 12.12; 19.2), Deut. 34.5 (Rev. 15.3). Cf. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908³ [Repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968]), pp. cxi–cliii.

5. Cf. S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTSup 115; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995), p. 17; Beale, *Use*, pp. 61f.; *idem*, *The Book of Revelation* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 77–9; M. Reiser, *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001), p. 85.

'semitizing' Greek⁶ of the apocalyptic author from Asia Minor can be understood on the basis of his striving towards a 'biblical' language. It does not have to be proof of any use of the Hebrew text. On the whole, it must be remembered that the idioms as well as the whole world of ideas and images of the Greek and the Hebrew Bible shaped the seer's life, thought and writing without any continuous conscious reference.

The author of Revelation's Christ-centred interpretation of contemporary events occurs against the background of a world view transcending history and according to the paradigm of promise and fulfilment. Within this approach, the repeated reference to the biblical tradition creates meaning in understanding the present. He obtains reassurance from the interpretation particularly of the prophetic tradition in the light of present events and proceedings.⁷ The author relates statements originally directed at Israel among the biblical nations and at its relationship with God, to the community of Jesus Christ and its tension-rich relationship with its environment (particularly with the Roman state ideology).⁸ The question arises whether the parenetically oriented recontextualization of the biblical texts and motifs remains within their 'original' potential of meaning, respectively its tradition-bound reception by ancient Jewish communities, or whether John the Apocalyptic stepped out of this given frame and gave a new meaning to the Jewish holy Scriptures which differed from their original meaning and the ancient Jewish traditions of interpreting re-writing.⁹

Clear Actualizations of and Allusions to Deuteronomy in Revelation

Rev. 12.16

In the visionary description of the rebellion of the powers opposed to God (Rev. 12.1–14.20) Rev. 12.13–18 presents the utmost danger to the community of salvation and its miraculous deliverance; v. 16 expresses in mythical language God's destructive punishment of his opponents:

But the earth came to the help of the woman; it opened its mouth and swallowed the river that the dragon had poured from his mouth. (Rev. 12.16)

The phrase ἡ γῆ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμόν reminds in form and content of Deut. 11.6 LXX. The Deuteronomy verse stands in the context of an admonitory re-telling of God's actions in history (Deut. 11.2–7) which ends on a negative note with an example of Israel's failure to react properly to God's saving actions:

6. Cf. U. Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 3rd edn, 1999), p. 527; Reiser, *Sprache*, pp. 84f.

7. Cf. Beale, *Use*, p. 45.

8. Cf. Beale, *Use*, p. 100.

9. Cf. Beale, *Use*, p. 42.

And what he did to Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab son of Reuben, how in the midst of all Israel the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up, along with their households, their tents, and all their substance which was with them. (Deut. 11.6)

The literary recourse to the punishment of Dathan and Abiram of the tribe Reuben, who, according to Num. 26.9f. (cf. Ps. 106 [LXX: 105].17f.; Sir. 45.18f.), protested against Moses and Aaron as the divinely instituted leaders of the people and who were killed by divine judgement, presents a typological model for the opponents of the Christian communities: 'Dathan and Abiram opposed the prophetic authority of God by "blaspheming" God, and by "misleading the Israelites" about the matter (...). In like manner the dragon inspires opposition to the prophetic truth of the gospel.'¹⁰ It is to be assumed that in the metaphorical language of the seer, following the typological model of Deut. 11.6, 'the river' in Rev. 12.16 stands for a hostile crowd. In its full meaning this allusion to Deut. 11.6 in Rev. 12.16 can only be understood in connection with Exod. 15.12 LXX, 'You stretched out your right hand, the earth swallowed them.' The song at the Red Sea in Exod. 15.2-8, which is repeatedly referred to in the context of Rev. 12.16 (Rev. 11.11 [Exod. 15.16]; 18 [Exod. 15.14]; 15.3 [Exod. 15.1]) describes how God made the earth swallow the army of Pharaoh pursuing the children of Israel. In the same way the church of Jesus Christ will now be saved by the power of God from the persecutions of its enemies.

Rev. 16.2

The vision of the seven bowls (Rev. 16.1-21) begins with the first bowl being poured out over the dry land as the habitat of humankind (vv. 1f.). Every human being who has accepted the mark of the beast and who has joined the ruler cult will be plagued by incurable malignant ulcers (cf. v. 11):

And a foul and painful sore came on those who had the mark of the beast and who worshipped its image. (Rev. 16.2)

The expression 'a foul and painful sore' (ἔλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρόν) corresponds in wording as well as in literary context to Deut. 28.35 LXX: 'The Lord will strike you on the knees and on the legs with bad boils (ἐν ἔλκει πονηρῷ).' In Deut. 28.1-69 the covenant liturgy is completed with formulae of blessing and curse; v. 15 is part of a longer list of conditional curses aimed at every Israelite who does not listen to the voice of Yahweh and does not obey his commands (vv. 15-45). Rev. 16.2 and Deut. 28.35 both threaten a painful, polluting, disfiguring skin disease leading ultimately to complete social isolation (cf. 2 Kgs 20.7). In both cases ἔλκος is qualified by an intensifying adjective attribute (πονηρός resp. κακὸς καὶ πονηρός) (cf. Job 2.7). In both cases, the text pursues the intention of consolidating and stabilizing a group of addressees threatened by giving in to the religious and cultural pressure of the overall society around it. In both cases, the emphasis is on the threat of the marked bodily punishment for the

10. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 675; cf. J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation* (AB, 38; Garden City: Doubleday, 1975), p. 203; J. Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ZBKNT, 18; Zürich: Theol. Verlag, 1984), p. 132; D. E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22* (WBC, 52C; Nashville: Nelson, 1998), p. 707.

refusal to acknowledge God with his claim to unconditional and exclusive veneration.¹¹ As already in Rev. 12.16, however, this allusion to a passage from Deuteronomy is also closely connected to a reference to the Exodus tradition (Exod. 9.8-12; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.304): 'And it caused festering boils on humans and animals' (Exod. 9.10). Although the proof of God's power in Exod. 9.8-12 is directed at the assumedly overpowering enemies of the people, the fact that the list of curses in Deuteronomy, directed at Israel, alludes to the Egyptian plagues becomes particularly apparent in Deut. 28.27, where the perpetrator is summarily described as afflicted 'with the boils of Egypt'. This in turn corresponds to the repeated allusions to the Egyptian plagues (Exodus 7 – 10) in the vision of the seven bowls (Rev. 16.2 [Exod. 9.10f.], 3f. [Exod. 7.17-21], 10 [Exod. 10.22], 13 [Exod. 8.3], 18 [Exod. 9.24]) as well as in the vision of the seven trumpets (Rev. 8.7 [Exod. 9.23-25], 8 [Exod. 7.20], 12 [Exod. 10.21], 9.3 [Exod. 10.12], 11.6 [Exod. 7.17, 19f.], 19 [Exod. 9.24]). This leads to the conclusion that there could be an interpretative connection (deriving from Jewish-Christian traditions) in terms of a typological correspondence between God's eschatological judgement of the destruction of his opponents and the biblical tradition of the Egyptian plagues in the context of the Exodus events.

The Song of Moses (Deut. 32.1-43) in Revelation

Stylized as part of the testament of Moses, a speech before his death, the Song of Moses (Deut. 32.1-43) contains theological instruction in poetic form, as well as in the shape of a memory running counter to the present and a hope-giving promise of future salvation for God's people.¹² An extensive introduction (Deut. 32.1-6) is followed by descriptive praise of Yahweh's beneficial actions for his people (vv. 7-14), an account of the unfaithfulness of Israel (vv. 15-18), the announcement of Yahweh's punishment through Israel's enemies (vv. 19-25), a long pronouncement of coming salvation (vv. 26-42) and a final call for universal praise of God (v. 43).

Several passages of the Apocalypse of John contain quotations from and allusions to the song of Moses in the sense of a salvation-typological connection with the Exodus event – God saves the people of Israel from its enemies and punishes them. The community of Christ as the eschatological people of salvation is delivered from the earthly into a heavenly world and the powers opposed to God are judged.

Rev. 6.10, 19.2

The opening of the fifth seal (Rev. 6.9-11) expresses the persecution and murder of the faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ. Their hope for the just retribution of their blood sacrifice by God's ultimate intervention in the world's history and by

11. Cf. Massyngherde Ford, *Revelation*, p. 270.

12. On Moses as a figure of the eschaton cf. Mal. 3.22-24, *LAB* 19.12-16, *Jub.* 48.1-19.

the punishment of their godless persecutors is expressed in the collective lament at the foot of the heavenly altar:

They cried out with a loud voice, 'Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?' (Rev. 6.10)

Almost as a comforting answer to the lamenting call for just retribution in Rev. 6.10, the wording of the verse is taken up in the concluding heavenly praise of Rev. 19.1-10: God has called the whore Babylon to justice; the spilled blood of the witnesses is avenged now.¹³

For his judgements are true and just; he has judged the great whore who corrupted the earth with her fornication, and he has avenged on her the blood of his servants. (Rev. 19.2)

The hope of the faithful for the coming acts of vengeance by God, who will revenge the persecution and murder of his faithful servants, also occurs in the call for praise in Deut. 32.43 LXX, which closes the Song of Moses. The verse differs markedly from the Masoretic text in the Greek text tradition and in a Hebrew fragment of Deuteronomy from Qumran (4Q44).¹⁴ It contains a poetic call for hopeful joy at the powerful intervention of Yahweh, who will avenge the blood of the persecuted people of God and punish the wickedness of its enemies in his judgement:

Rejoice, you heavens, with him, and all children of God will bow down before him. Rejoice, you nations, with his people, and all angels of God will regain strength before him, for the blood of his children will be avenged. He will avenge and take vengeance on his adversaries, and will retaliate against those who hate him, and the Lord will make expiration for his people's land. (Deut. 32.43)

Rev. 6.10 and 19.2 have a number of similarities with Deut. 32.43 LXX. First, there are visible parallels in the wording.¹⁵ Furthermore, the literary context, particularly of Rev. 19.2 – a hymnic finale in which the call for praise is passed on by a heavenly voice to all the faithful on earth – corresponds to the call for universal joy at the end of the song of Moses. Finally Revelation and Deuteronomy correspond in the function of the prospectively comforting statement of the avenging action of God.¹⁶ In Deut. 32.43, the judgement and the punishing wrath of Yahweh are proof of his power and of his active intervention for his people Israel. The seer John transfers this theological idea (which also occurs in 2 Kgs 9.7; Ezek. 14.21; Ps. 9.12f.; 78[MT 79].10) to the community of Jesus Christ and their present oppressors. This actualization of an important hope-giving tradition from the Jewish tradition visualizes the radical saving intervention of God in history in

13. Only in these two passages the verb ἐκδικέω occurs in Revelation. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 928.

14. The Greek translation of the verse is probably based on a longer original different from the (proto-)Masoretic text tradition and one which was possibly deliberately changed here (cf. 4Q44). Cf. P. W. Skehan, 'A Fragment of the "Song of Moses" (Deut. 32) from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 (1954), pp. 12–15; A. van der Kooij, 'The Ending of the Song of Moses: On the Pre-Masoretic Version of Deut. 32.43', *Studies in Deuteronomy* (VTSup, 53; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 93–100.

15. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 393.

16. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, pp. 408.

the face of a discrepancy between convictions of faith and perception of the present, which was probably regarded as threatening by many Christians of Asia Minor.

Rev. 9.20

At the end of the sixth vision of the trumpets (Rev. 9.13-21), v. 20 describes summarily the effect of all the previous visions of this series and qualifies the plagues as a whole, introduced by the signals, as signs of God's power over the obdurate resistance of mankind. A third of all unfaithful human beings will be killed (vv. 15, 18); nevertheless, those who remain persist in their faithless and unrepentant unbelief in spite of the terrible proofs of God's power to date. Following the Jewish tradition (cf. Ps. 113.12[MT 115.4]; 134[MT 135].15; Jer. 1.16; Dan. 5.4,23) this obdurate unbelief crystallizes in their meaningless idolatry¹⁷ and particularly in their veneration of powerless artefacts:

The rest of humankind, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their hands or give up worshipping demons and idols of gold and silver and bronze and stone and wood, which cannot see or hear or walk. (Rev. 9.20)

This is another allusion to the song of Moses. The parenetically motivated reference to the continuing veneration of foreign deities, respectively their cultic images or statues, together with the emphasis on their actual powerlessness, is similar to Deut. 32.17 LXX. There the accusation of the veneration of helpless and unknown deities describes Israel's faithless behaviour:

They sacrificed to demons, not God, to deities they had never known, to new ones recently arrived, whom their ancestors had not known. (Deut. 32.17)

The verse from Deuteronomy is part of a strong accusation against Israel (Deut. 32.15-18); the explicit reference to the idolatry corresponds to a common tendency in ancient Judaism for linking any polemic against foreign cults with the prohibition of images in the Decalogue (Exod. 20.4f.; Deut. 5.8f.).¹⁸ The passage is preceded in the Song of Moses by the praising description of the acceptance and protection of God's people during the migration through the wilderness and the occupation of the land (Deut. 32.10-14). Thus the contrast between the care of God and the faithlessness of Israel is emphasized strongly.

A comparison of the allusion to Deut. 32.17 LXX in Rev. 9.20 with the explicit quotation of this verse in 1 Cor. 10.19f., shows an important difference in the early Christian assessment of pagan deities. For a while, Paul regards the demons here as existing but basically subordinate to the one and only God; for the seer John they are only figments of human imagination. In Deut. 32.15-18, the main subject is to admonish and to show the continuing apostasy of all of Israel including the addressees of the text, while in Rev. 9.13-21 the reading audience is

17. Cf. *Jub.* 1.11, 11.4-6, 22.17 as well as Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, pp. 543; Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 519: 'The catalogue of sins is prefaced by a summary of the idol's spiritual essence: behind the idols are demonic forces.'

18. Cf. M. Tilly, 'Die Sünden Israels und der Heiden', *JSJ* 37 (2006), pp. 192-211 (here: 205f.).

enabled to identify with the just who remain. Nevertheless, an argument for the intentional reference to the devaluation of the power of foreign gods in Deut. 32.17 is the continuing correspondence between the description of God's eschatological judgement and the Exodus events,¹⁹ as well as the observation that in Revelation the meaningless superstitious veneration of idols is contrasted by their exposing presentation as empty images. Another argument for a deliberate reference to the Deuteronomy passage is that in both passages this contrast forms the closure of a parenetically motivated passage.

Rev. 10.5f.

In the course of his renewed instruction after the vision of the trumpet which emphasises that the end is near (Rev. 10.1-11) the visionary sees an angel with an open book who affirms the counsel of God for the coming eschatological event by a solemn oath. The gesture, as well as the oath by the God 'who lives forever', appears to correspond to Deut. 32.40 LXX:

Then the angel whom I saw standing on the sea and the land raised his right hand to heaven and swore by him who lives forever and ever, who created heaven and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it, that here will be no more delay. (Rev. 10.5-6)

For I lift up my hand to heaven, and swear with my right hand and say: 'As I live forever'. (Deut. 32.40)

In the context of the Song of Moses in Deut. 32.40, God himself announces the future vengeance on Israel's enemies. Beyond the Hebrew text tradition, the text of the Septuagint offers 'and swear with my right hand'. This interprets the gesture, which in the Hebrew text can also be seen as a sign of an active intervention of the punishing God,²⁰ in an accentuating way as an anthropopatism against the background of the practice of raising the hand (respectively both hands) towards the sky affirmatively when swearing an oath (cf. Deut. 4.26; Dan. 12.7).²¹ The vivid description of God's judgement has a number of similarities in the immediate literary context of Deut. 32.40, as well as of Rev. 10.5f. (Rev. 9.19 [cf. Deut. 32.32-35]; Rev. 10.4 [cf. Deut. 32.34f.]; Rev. 10.6 [cf. Deut. 32.35]). However, Rev. 10.5-7 is also clearly influenced by Dan. 12.7, which mentions a heavenly being standing above the waters of the stream, both hands raised for an oath and swearing 'by God who lives forever' (cf. Rev. 1.18; Dan 4.34th; Sir 18.1).²² Although only Deut. 32.40 LXX mentions that the right hand is raised for the oath, a tradition-historical relationship, possibly even a literary dependence of Rev. 10.5-7 to Dan 10.7 is indicated not only by the high importance of Daniel 7-12

19. On the motif of the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians in the face of the plagues, cf. Exod. 7.13, 22f.; 8.15, 28; 9.12, 34f. etc.

20. Thus J. Lust, 'For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven and Swear: Deut. 32.40', *Studies in Deuteronomy* (VTSup, 53; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 155-64 (here: 163) referring to Exod. 6.8; Ezek. 20.5f.; 44.12; Ps 10.12 (LXX: 9.33).

21. Cf. C. Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament* (OTS, 30; Leiden: Brill, 1993), p. 352.

22. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, p. 564; Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 537.

throughout the accounts of the visions of the Revelation of John, but also by the repertoire of motifs in Rev. 10.5f., and particularly by the announcement that there would be no more delay until judgement and redemption are accomplished (Rev. 10.6; cf. Philo, *Leg.* 3.106).²³

Rev. 15.3f., 16.5

In the context of the heavenly preparation for the pouring of the seven bowls (Rev. 15.1-8) the redeemed praise the almighty and only holy God on the sea of glass in a descriptive hymn:

And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb: 'Great and amazing are your deeds, Lord God the Almighty! Just and true are your ways, King of the nations! Lord, who will not fear and glorify your name? For you alone are holy. All nations will come and worship before you, for your judgements have been revealed'. (Rev. 15.3-4)

The hymn is clearly marked as a partial reference to a 'Song of Moses' by the expression *ὡδὴ Μωϋσέως*. This phrase, however could be taken to refer to either the song at the Red Sea (cf. Exod. 15.1) or to Deut. 32.1-43 (cf. Deut. 31.19, 22, 30; 32.44).²⁴ While the hymn visibly differs from the song at the Red Sea (Exod. 15.1-21) and actually contains borrowings from or allusions to a number of different writings (Ps. 110[MT 111].2; 138[MT 139].14; Amos 4.13; Deut. 32.4; Ps. 144[MT 145].17; Jer. 10.7; Mal. 1.11; Ps. 85[MT 86].9; Hos. 6.5), at the end of Rev. 15.3 there is an unambiguous reference to the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32:

God, his works are genuine, and all his ways are just. A faithful God, without deceit, just and holy is the Lord. (Deut. 32.4)

The praise of God's ways and of his reliability is expressed at the end of Rev. 15.3 in the synonymous parallelism *δίκαιος καὶ ὅσιος κύριος* as a nominal clause. The phrase corresponds in form and content to Deut. 32.4b, a part of a hymnic doxology of judgement at the introduction of the song of Moses, in which the Exodus generation praises God's action as just and his retribution as fitting.²⁵ Apart from Deut. 32.4, the combination of *δίκαιος* and *ὅσιος* occurs in the Greek translations of the Hebrew holy Scriptures only in Ps. 144[MT 145].17 (cf. also Ps. *Sol.* 10.5; Odes 2.4). The salvation from the powers of the present eschatological age opposed to God corresponds to the saving action of the Exodus. God was and is just. In the same way the pouring of the seven bowls described by the seer as part of the all-encompassing judgement of the divine wrath (Rev. 16.1-21) appears as meaningful and as the ground for a doxology of judgement (cf. Ps. 118[MT 119].75; Neh. 9.8, 33), with which the third angel of the bowls comments on his destructive action:

23. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 537: 'Dan 12.7 is a development of Deut 32.40, which also may be secondarily in mind here in Revelation.'

24. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 793.

25. Cf. Massyngherde Ford, *Revelation*, p. 257.

And I heard the angel of the waters say, 'You are just, who are and were, who is holy, for you have judged these things'. (Rev. 16.5)

The verse takes up the allusion to Deut. 32.4 by transferring the justice of God praised by the redeemed in 15.3f., into the performance of his cosmic judgement: God punishes all who spilled the blood of Christians.²⁶ Later rabbinic tradition read Deut. 32.4 as referring to the world to come and to the final judgement (cf. e.g. *Sifre* Deut. § 307; *b. Ta'an.* 11a). That this reading was already known at the time of the seer is supported by the salvation historical interpretation of the Song of Moses in *LAB* 19.4. If this reading was also applied by the seer John, here above all he actualizes a hope-giving tradition by transferring the election of God's people through disaster in past, present and future as addressed in the song of Moses onto the oppressed community of Christ.²⁷

The Integrity Formula (Deut. 4.1f.; 13.1) in Revelation

A particularly marked example of the reception of Deuteronomy in Revelation is the combined reference to three passages from Deuteronomy (Deut. 4.1f.; 13.1; 29.19f.) in Rev. 22.18f.²⁸ In the context of the closure of the monumental description of eternal salvation for the just, the author himself turns to the Christian hearers/readers of his book:

I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to that person the plagues described in this book; if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away that person's share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book. (Rev. 22.18-19)

The verdict of J. Massyngberde Ford, that these two verses were phrased 'in true Deuteronomic style',²⁹ can be based on a series of parallels in content, terminology, function and context between Rev. 22.18f. and the passages from Deuteronomy mentioned above.³⁰ A translation of the Septuagint text reconstructed by J. W. Wevers and U. Quast³¹ is as follows:

26. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 817.

27. The honorific title 'the servant of the Lord' occurs in Deut. 34.5 LXX in the account of the death of Moses but since it occurs frequently in Scripture, literary dependence cannot be demonstrated.

28. Cf. Swete, *Apocalypse*, p. cliii.

29. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, p. 369. Similarly E. Stauffer, 'Der Methurgeman des Petrus', *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963), pp. 283–93 (here: 291); E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (NTD, 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 11th edn, 1976), p. 114; W. C. van Unnik, 'De la règle Μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν dans l'histoire du canon', *idem, Sparsa Collecta II* (NovTSup, 30; Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 123–56 (here: 153); H. Ritt, *Offenbarung des Johannes* (NEBNT, 21; Würzburg: Echter, 4th edn, 1999), p. 119.

30. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1151. Differently B. Olsson, 'Der Epilog der Offenbarung Johannis', *ZNW* 31 (1932), pp. 84–6.

31. J. W. Wevers, U. Quast, *Deuteronomium* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum vol. III,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

So now, Israel, listen to the statutes and ordinances that I am teaching you to observe them today, so that you may live to enter and occupy the land that the Lord, the God of your ancestors, is giving you. You must neither add anything to the Word I command you nor take away anything from it. Keep the commandments of the Lord, your God, which I am commanding you. (Deut. 4.1-2)

You must diligently observe everything that I command you today; do not add to it or take anything from it. (Deut. 13.1)

The Lord will be unwilling to pardon him, for the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall burn against the man. And all the curses of this covenant which are written in this book of the Law will descend on him, and the Lord will blot out his name from under heaven. And the Lord will single him out from all the children of Israel for calamity, in accordance with all the curses of the covenant which are written in this book of the Law (Deut. 29.19-20).

The correlations in content between Rev. 22.18f. and Deut. 4.1f. consist in the two fold formula-like commandment, not to add to or take away from an explicitly mentioned normative text, which is in Revelation extended into a conditional curse formula. The direct connection of the two prohibitions 'defines the final form of a given text'.³² In both cases, the reward promised to the just consists in the life preserved at a new place, either in the promised land (cf. Deut. 28.1-14) or the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21.1-22.5): 'The promise of life is given to the obedience to the law.'³³ The similarities between Rev. 22.18f. and Deut. 13.1 are related to the use of the integrity formula or 'Textsicherungsformel'³⁴ (cf. Eccl. 3.14; Prov. 30.5f.; Jer. 26.2 [= LXX 33.2]; Sir. 18.6; 42.21) in connection with the entry into the promised land (Deut. 12.28f.). The text in Rev. 22.18f. is linked to Deut. 29.19f. by the threat of the double punishment of the transgressor by his individual punishment and his precautionary expulsion from the community of the just of Israel, which guarantees that the divine punishment only strikes at the guilty.³⁵

The direct terminological correspondences consist firstly in the wording of the twofold integrity formula, although the author of Rev. 22.18f. offers the pair of opposites ἐπιτίθημι – ἀφαίρεω instead of the antonyms προστίθημι – ἀφαίρεω (Deut. 4.2; 13.1), probably because this gives him the stylistic opportunity of using the same verb in the safeguarding of the revelation for the mirror image of godless action (ἐάν τις ἐπιθήῃ ἐπ' αὐτόν) and the immediate punishing reaction (ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτόν).³⁶ Another literal correspondence between Rev. 22.18f. and Deut. 29.19f. consists in the twofold reference to the 'imminent punishments' being rooted in each book (Rev. 22.18f.: τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ

32. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, p. 1209; Chr. Dohmen, M. Oeming, *Biblischer Kanon, warum und wozu?* (QD, 137; Freiburg: Herder, 1992), pp. 68–89 (here: p. 80).

33. M. Rose, *5. Mose* (ZBKAT 5; Teilband 2; Zürich: Theol. Verl., 1994), p. 491.

34. Dohmen, Oeming, *Kanon*, p. 80; cf. E. Reuter, 'Nimm nichts davon weg und füge nichts hinzu!', *BN* 47 (1989), pp. 107–14; A. Vonach, 'Die sogenannte Kanon- oder Ptahotepformel', *Protokolle zur Bibel* 6 (1997), pp. 73–80; Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, p. 1208; Th. Hieke, T. Nicklas, *Die Worte der Prophetie dieses Buches* (BThS, 62; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2003), pp. 70–72.

35. Cf. Beale, *Use*, p. 98; *idem*, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1152; Rose, *5. Mose*, p. 554.

36. Cf. M. Karrer, *Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief* (FRLANT, 140; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), p. 274; Hieke, Nicklas, *Worte*, p. 75.

τοῦτω [...] τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ ; Deut. 29,19f.: αἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τούτου [...] τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τούτου). Considering the immediate context of the last passage named the identical threat to the transgressor using τὰς πληγὰς in Deut. 29.21 and Rev. 22.18 must be mentioned.³⁷ In Revelation the noun πλήγη and the verb πλήσσω occur mainly in the context of the time of the oppression of the just before the final coming of Christ (Rev. 8.12; 9.18, 20; 11.6; 13.3, 12, 14; cf. 16.21).³⁸

The correspondences between the functions of the texts within their literary context relate to their position at the beginning or end of a binding religious document with its claim to perfection, authority and wisdom, which is to be safeguarded.³⁹ Rev. 22.18f. summarizes the completed book of Revelation as authoritative 'holy Scripture', a claim accentuated by the correspondence of the two verses with Rev. 1.2f.⁴⁰ The parenthesis in the context of the opportunities and dangers in the promised land in Deuteronomy 4, inserted by the redactor after the historical review of the migration from Horeb to Bet-Pegor (1.6–3.29), prepares for the actual legislation in Deuteronomy 5–28.⁴¹ Probably a Deuteronomistic redactor in late exilic or early post-exilic time has fitted an introductory frame to the Deuteronomic law here by introducing urgent calls to heed the laws.⁴² Deut. 13.1 corresponds in form and content to the heading of Deut. 12.1 (cf. 4.1),⁴³ and the manuscript tradition of the Masoretes marks the end of the passage only after 13.1 by Petucha.⁴⁴ This leads to the conclusion that Deut. 13.1 originally must be understood as a redactionally created safeguarding closure of the preceding commandment from chapter 12 to centralize the cult.

The context leads to the observation that throughout the preceding catalogues of vices in Rev. 21.8, 27; 22.15, heresy has a pronounced importance. In immediate reference to Deut. 4.1f., the participation in the cult of a foreign deity (cf. Num. 25.1–5) is also referred to in similar ways. Likewise, Deut. 12.30f. explicitly warns

37. Several witnesses (046. 051^s. 2377. M^A) read ἐπὶ τὰ before πληγὰς, by which the 'plagues' mentioned here refer explicitly to Rev. 15.1, 8; 21.9.

38. Cf. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1153; Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', pp. 80f.

39. Cf. Dohmen, Oeming, *Kanon*, p. 84; Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, p. 1229.

40. Cf. H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT, 16a; Tübingen: Mohr, 1974), p. 281; U. B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ÖTK 19; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984), p. 372; Moyise, *Old Testament*, p. 24; Beale, *Use*, p. 95; *idem*, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1150; Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', pp. 76f.

41. Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, p. 213; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), p. 200.

42. Cf. Dohmen, Oeming, *Kanon*, p. 83; D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4* (GTA, 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 159f.; E. Otto, 'Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion im Deuteronomiumsrahmen', *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (SESJ, 62; Helsinki, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1996), pp. 196–222, 202.

43. Cf. A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (NCB; Grand Rapids/London: Eerdmans, 1979), pp. 231f.; Dohmen, Oeming, *Kanon*, p. 83.

44. Cf. F. Horst, 'Das Privilegrecht Jahwes', *idem*, *Gottes Recht* (TB, 12; Munich: Kaiser 1961), pp. 17–154 (here: 60); Dohmen, Oeming, *Kanon*, p. 83; Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', p. 74; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p. 231. Differently Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, p. 200; Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1151.

against idolatry. Deut. 29.15-18 also gives reasons for the subsequent threat of punishment (cf. Deut. 28.58-61) in the warning reference to the gods of the foreign nations encountered by Israel (respectively the generation of the fathers) so far.⁴⁵

For a contribution to the answer to the question of whether a profile of the reception of Deuteronomy in Revelation can be drawn, the texts referred to in Rev. 22.18f. must be studied. For this, some light must first be thrown onto the characteristics of these texts in the context of the Septuagint of Deuteronomy. The study of the history of their influence and reception in Jewish writings from Hellenistic-Roman times as well as the reception of the Hebrew text tradition in the library of Qumran serves as a basis of the subsequent thoughts concerning the particular use of Deut. 4.1f., 13.1, 29.19f. in Revelation.

The History of the Integrity Formula

As the last book of the Torah, Deuteronomy was probably translated last into Greek. The translator 'appears to know the other books already in Greek and uses them as a help for difficult passages, but also as a source of his interpretation'.⁴⁶ It can be regarded as certain that already before the beginning of the Greek translation, all the text blocks of Deuteronomy were integral parts of the book. As to the general character of the Septuagint of Deuteronomy, this can be characterized, among other things, by the obvious care of the ancient translator to adjust his work – particularly in terms of quality – to the model of the Hebrew text.⁴⁷ Likewise, in the translation repeatedly there are the same sequences of words, expressions and phrases.⁴⁸ Apparently, this 'conservative' approach to the biblical text⁴⁹ was based on its special quality as revelation, which required a particularly precise transformation into the Greek language, as the purpose was nothing less than the creation of a universally understandable basic text so that all the faithful can find orientation on the word of God in all aspects of life.

Similarly, concerning the passages from Deuteronomy referred to in Rev. 22.18f. a high degree of correspondence between the Hebrew and Greek biblical text is noticeable. Nevertheless, some peculiar aspects of the translation must be mentioned. In Deut. 4.2 the semantically polyvalent infinitive construction לְשַׁמֵּר⁵⁰ is translated by the imperative φυλάσσεσθε which increases the expressive effect

45. Beale, *Use*, p. 96; *idem*, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1151.

46. A. Aejmelaeus, *Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums* (Veijola, Deuteronomium, pp. 1–22 [here: 4]); Cf. M. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung* (BZAW, 223; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1994), p. 257.

47. Cf. J. W. Wevers, *The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards his Parent Text* (Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 498–505 (here: 505). Cf. Aejmelaeus, *Septuaginta*, p. 13. In greater detail C. Dogniez, M. Harl, *Le Deutéronome* (La Bible d'Alexandrie, 5; Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1992), pp. 29–40.

48. Cf. J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (MSU, 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), p. 86.

49. Cf. Wevers, *Attitude*, p. 501.

50. Cf. B. K. Waltke, M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 605–10.

of the integrity formula. Likewise, the twofold addition of *σήμερον* (not supported by any of the remaining Hebrew witnesses) serves as actualization of the immutability of God's word.⁵¹ In Deut. 13.1 the changing *numerus* in the address is harmonized into the singular. This emphasizes the individual validity of the commandment, however it dissolves the connection between Deut. 12.1 and 13.1, the beginning and end of the commandment to centralize the cult (marked by the significant change in number in the Hebrew text), as a passage which is closed in itself in content and meaning. The Greek rendition of Deut. 29.19f. mostly corresponds in quality and quantity to the Hebrew text; only the translation of τὰς ἀρὰς τῆς διαθήκης τὰς γεγραμμένας ('all the curses of this covenant, which are written'), as opposed to כל האלה הכתובה ('all the curse, which is written') is noteworthy.⁵² In this passage, it is particularly interesting that in the preceding verse 18, the vivid expression למען ספות הרורח את הצמחה ('so as to bring disaster on moist and dry alike') is translated as ἵνα μὴ συναπολέσῃ ὁ ἀμαρτωλὸς τὸν ἀναμάρτητον ('lest the sinner should destroy the innocent'). The interpreting translation of the phrase enables the direct reference to the subsequent punishment of the obdurate transgressor by God in Deut. 29.19f.⁵³ It can be noted that already at the point of origin of the exegetical tradition, in the Septuagint of Deuteronomy, the individual validity of the direct effects of the integrity formula in Deut. 4.1f., 13.1 as well as the parenetically motivated threat of punishment in Deut. 29.19f., are in certain ways reinforced against the Hebrew text.

A first reference to Deut. 4.1f. and 13.1 can be found at the end of the legendary account of the inspired translation of the Torah into Greek in *Let. Aris.* 310f.⁵⁴ The representatives of the Alexandrian Jews approve of the work of the 72 translators as 'well and piously (...) and in every respect accurate'. For this reason no change of the text was going to be permitted (*Let. Aris.* 310). This safeguard of the immutability of the Greek Torah translation for all future is accomplished by an act of public cursing, which (using the antonyms προστίθῃμι – ἀφαιρέω) prohibits any additions, rearrangements or omissions, 'according to their custom (ἔθος)' (*Let. Aris.* 311). The conclusion that the author of the epistle of Aristeas was thinking of the instructions of Deuteronomy is supported by his choice of words and a number of observations: (1) He uses the term ἔθος in *Let. Aris.* 182.184.305 as a general term for the specific Jewish customs; and (2) particularly in his explanation of the Jewish food laws in *Let. Aris.* 153–60, he

51. Cf. L. Laberge, 'La Septante de Dt 1-11', *Das Deuteronomium* (BETL, 68; Leuven: Peeters, 1985), pp. 1296–34 (here: 130); E. Nielsen, *Deuteronomium* (HAT, I/6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), p. 54.

52. Cf. Dogniez, Harl, *Deutéronome*, p. 303.

53. Cf. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p. 365; Aejmelaeus, *Septuaginta*, p. 5; Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, p. 262.

54. Cf. M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (JAC; New York: Harper, 1951), p. 219f. with note p. 305; Van Unnik, 'Règle', p. 137; F. Siegert, 'Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style', *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation* I/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 130–98 (esp. 144–54; here: 147); *idem*, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament* (MJSSt, 9; Münster: Lit., 2001), p. 29.

continuously refers to Deuteronomy (Deut. 6.7-9; 7.18; 10.21; 11.18, 20; 14.6). It is also noteworthy that already in *Let. Aris.* 311 the integrity formula Deut. 4.1f., 13.1 is connected with a conditional curse formula as in Rev. 22.18f.

In the version of the legend of the Septuagint's origin as written down by Philo of Alexandria (*Mos.* 2.34), the ruling to maintain the original thought in the translation of the Torah (διαφυλάττω; cf. Deut. 13.1 [φυλάσσω]) and not to take anything from it or add to it (ἀφαίρῶ – προστίθῃμι) corresponds to the perfection of the Law revealed by divine proclamation.⁵⁵ The terms ἱεροφάνται καὶ προφητάς ('mystery priests and prophets', *Mos.* 2.40) for the translators corresponds to the conviction of the translation's inspiration. In *Spec.* 4.143-147, Philo directly refers to Deut. 4.1f., 13.1, condemning any alteration in form or content of the whole of the just Law, however small a change it may be. Any such intrusion into the perfect text of the Torah would imply the radical cancellation of its perfection; piety would turn into superstition or impiety.⁵⁶

The Jewish writer Flavius Josephus also describes the origin of the Greek translation of the Torah in Alexandria (*Ant.* 12.11-118). In this, unlike *Let. Aris.* 310f., he does not link the explicit instruction not to add or detract from the translation, taken from Deuteronomy, with an act of cursing, but – like Philo in *Mos.* 2.34 – in concluding, he refers to the particular perfection of the work (*Ant.* 12.108f.).⁵⁷ In *Contra Apionem*, following the treatment of the Jewish holy Scriptures as reliable historical sources, he marks the strict exertions on behalf of their exact transmission as a specific feature of the Jewish religion (*C. Ap.* 1.42f.).⁵⁸

Of particular interest is the reference to the integrity formula (Deut. 4.1f.; 13.1) in *BJ* 1.26 and *Ant.* 1.17. In both cases Flavius Josephus uses the phrase as a 'programmatic formula of his own literary writing' placed at the beginning of each work.⁵⁹ At first sight this emphasis on the exactness in dealing with the sources contradicts their creative interpretation by the ancient Jewish author, who uses the contemporary genre of rhetorical historiography in artistic ways in order to compose a Greek version of Jewish history with specifically religious implications. Yet in both cases Josephus certainly does not wish to state that he merely repeats his sources slavishly. Instead he wants to emphasize that he only renders their *actual* meaning faithfully without being affected by his own emotions or being 'partial'.⁶⁰ Probably he assumes in his religious interpretation of Jewish history that he is an empowered *tradent* as well as prophetic proclaimer of the binding word of God in his own work as historian and translator of the Jewish

55. Cf. Van Unnik, 'Règle', p. 137f.

56. Cf. Van Unnik, 'Règle', p. 150f.; Dogniez, Harl, *Deutéronome*, p. 133.

57. Cf. Van Unnik, 'Règle', p. 138; *idem*, *Flavius Josephus als historischer Schriftsteller* (FDV.NF; Heidelberg: Lambert-Schneider, 1978), p. 31f.

58. Cf. Van Unnik, 'Règle', p. 138f.; *idem*, *Flavius Josephus*, p. 36; Beale, *Use*, p. 97; *idem*, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1152; Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', p. 77, n. 142.

59. Stauffer, 'Methurgeman', p. 289. Cf. L. H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1-4* (Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary, 3; Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 7f. n. 22.

60. Cf. Van Unnik, *Flavius Josephus*, p. 39.

holy scriptures (as well as the biblical prophets) (cf. *BJ* 3.403; 5.362-419 [esp. 391-93]).⁶¹

Apart from the exegetical tradition of the Septuagint of Deuteronomy, a glance at the reception of Deut. 4.1f, 13.1, 29.19f. in the Hebrew text tradition contributes to the understanding of these passages in ancient Judaism. Here, above all, the explicit continuation and actual interpretation of Deuteronomy in Qumran must be mentioned. Thus, 1QS 8.17 addresses the divinely inspired and prophetically proclaimed authoritative legislation and sentencing on the basis of the Torah by referring to Deut. 4.1f, 13.1 in warning. The long subsequent passage (1QS 8.20ff.) on the punitive expulsion of the transgressor from the community is of particular interest (cf. Deut. 29.19f.; 1QS 2.12-16).⁶² It is, however, doubtful, whether the rendition of the integrity formula in 11QT 54.5-7 should be understood only as a final admonition referring to the preceding regulation on vows. Immediately after the reference to Deut. 4.1f., 13.1 there are warnings against the seduction to idolatry and against the appearance of illegitimate prophets and interpreters of dreams (11QTR 54.8ff.).⁶³

Finally, *1 Enoch* 104.10-12 must be mentioned. As the conclusion of a series of woes on sinners and warnings to the righteous (*1 Enoch* 94.6-104.13), there is a threat to the transgressors who distort the truth in their speeches and writings. As part of the broad tradition of understanding Deuteronomy, the text takes up the integrity formula and arranges it as a conditional promise in demarcation from false prophecy and any alteration of the revealed word of God.⁶⁴

With all due reservations resulting from the differing historical and literary context of the received texts mentioned, some broad lines of the exegetical tradition of Deut. 4.1f., 13.1, 29.19f. are apparent. Firstly, the integrity formula introduces the text to be safeguarded or concludes it (*Let. Aris.* 310f.; 11QT 54.5-7; Josephus *BJ* 1.26; *Ant.* 1.17; *1 Enoch* 104.10-12); at first, the emphasis is on the inspiration of this text (*Let Aris.* 310f.; 1QS 8.17). In the same way – also referring to the immediate context and tied to other biblical passages – its prophetic mediation as the revealed word of God is emphasized and explicitly separated from illegitimate prophecy (1QS 8.17; *1 Enoch* 104.10-12; cf. Philo, *Spec.* 1.315; Josephus *BJ* 1.26; *Ant.* 1.17; 10.218). Second, particularly in ‘apocalyptic’ contexts, the formula is not used metaphorically but with a warning intention combined with a conditional curse and with explicit warnings against idolatry, which in turn has its tradition-historical basis in the frame of the Deuteronomic law –

61. Cf. Van Unnik, *Flavius Josephus*, pp. 41–54; G. Mayer, ‘Josephus Flavius’, *TRE* 17 (1988), pp. 258–64 (here: 259).

62. Cf. Aune, *Revelation* 17–22, p. 1210.

63. Cf. Aune, *Revelation* 17–22, p. 1209.

64. Cf. Van Unnik, ‘Règle’, p. 135f.; Beale, *Use*, p. 97; *idem*, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1152. On the authority of the Enochic literature as prophecy cf. the reception of *1 Enoch* 1.9 in Jude 14. A direct tradition-historical connection between *1 Enoch* 104.10-12 and Rev. 22.18f., as L. L. Johns thinks (*The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John* [WUNT, 2/167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], p. 95) appears unlikely.

particularly in Deuteronomy 29 (1QS 8.20ff.; 11QT 54.5-7; cf. *Let. Aris.* 310f.). Third, Philo (*Mos.* 2.34; *Spec.* 4.143-147) and Josephus (*Ant.* 12.108f.) also mention the perfection of the inspired text the least alteration of which means not merely a gradual but rather a radical cancellation of its perfection.

The Integrity Formula in Revelation

For R. H. Charles, the reference to the Septuagint of Deuteronomy in Rev. 22.18f. served, above all, the lasting safeguarding of the literal text transmission: 'It was not unusual for writers, Christian and Jewish, to attempt to secure a faithful transmission of their works by appending solemn adjurations that the scribes should in no wise change or tamper with the text.'⁶⁵ It appears doubtful, however, that the apocalyptic author, who intends to pass on the comforting assurance of the immediate victorious and lasting intervention of God in world history to his contemporary addressees, who are in a situation perceived as critical and who appeals to their steadfastness, has in mind the continuing secured tradition of his own writing.⁶⁶ Against the assumption of the subsequent insertion of the two verses into the original book⁶⁷ the arguments must be raised that: (1) Rev. 22.18f. corresponds noticeably to Rev. 1.2f. (cf. Rev. 2.7, 22; 3.12); (2) no known text version offers a shorter text; (3) already Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 135-202 CE) refers to Rev. 22.18f. in his interpretation of the non-uniform text tradition of Rev. 13.18 in *Adversus Haereses* V 30.1;⁶⁸ and (4) the numerous smaller variants speak against the existence or use of a stereotypical formula customary in the text's reproduction. A comparison with the exegetical tradition of Deut. 4.1f., 13.1, 29.19f. in ancient Judaism points in a different direction; here the inspiration of God's revealed word mediated by the prophets receives special emphasis particularly in the context of the warning demarcation from illegitimate prophecy and idolatry.⁶⁹

Even if he does not call himself a prophet, John composes his work – written down at the order of Jesus Christ, i.e. qualified by a vision of calling (Rev. 1.9-20; cf. Isa. 6.1-13; Jer. 1.4-10; Ezek. 2.8 – 3.3) – with a claim to prophetic authority (Rev. 22.9; cf. 19.10).⁷⁰ His use of the term βιβλίον (Rev. 1.11; 22.7, 9f., 18f.; cf. Nah. 1.1) supports this finding. In Rev. 22.18f. the apocalyptic author attempts to take a direct controlling influence on the immediate addressees of his book; for

65. R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), II, p. 223; Cf. J. Leipoldt, S. Morenz, *Heilige Schriften* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1953), p. 58.

66. Cf. R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2nd edn, 1998), p. 409.

67. So Kraft, *Offenbarung*, p. 282.

68. Cf. Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', pp. 78f.; T. Nicklas, M. Tilly, 'New Testament Textual Criticism at the Crossroads', in, *idem*, *The Book of Acts as Church History: Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte* (BZNW, 120; Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter 2003), pp. 1-5 (here: 1f.).

69. Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', pp. 110f.

70. Cf. D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn, 1991), pp. 238f.; B. J. Malina, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), pp. 39f.

him, their reading does not represent a passive reception of formulated information but an active challenge to orientate their lives with his prophetic message. The traditional integrity formula, which in its content, its reference to the context and its connection with other biblical passages, links up with the main stream of ancient Jewish scriptural reception, receives a strong christological focus through him. This use of the integrity formula shows clearly that the seer of Patmos regards his work as literary processing of his prophetic reception of revelation, the decisive and unconditional integrity and authority of which are to be emphasized in concluding.⁷¹ Although the trouble taken to preserve the 'original' contextual identity of the biblical passages used does not play any noticeable role for him, the apocalyptic author in his use of Scripture remains within the ancient Jewish tradition of understanding these passages from Deuteronomy.⁷² It must be asserted that here the author of Revelation forbids his readers the precise thing he himself does to the texts, that is the creative new contextualization of a document of revelation.

The warning at the end of the work, based on the Septuagint of Deuteronomy not 'to add' nor 'to take away' anything, marks the whole of the last book of the Christian Bible's claim to proclaiming God's eschatological salvation to the communities of Asia Minor and at the same time to preserving them from the constant pressure to assimilate, that is from the expectations of their pagan environment that they conform to it.⁷³ 'Consequently, to "add" to the words of John's prophecy is to promote the false teaching that idolatry is not inconsistent with faith in Christ.'⁷⁴ The explicit warning protects the writing as divine instruction written down in its words. At the same time it claims unconditional observance in a radical way.⁷⁵ The conclusion that the explicitly limited (cf. Rev. 1.4) circle of Christian addressees not only receive the promise of salvation but also the eschatological threat of the only comprehensive evidence of early Christian prophecy within the New Testament is also supported by the observation that John consistently reads the comforting and admonishing words to the scriptural people of God as referring to the Christians (cf. Rev. 2.7 [Gen. 2.9]; Rev. 2.14 [Num. 31.16]; Rev. 2.17 [Ps. 78.24]; Rev. 2.20 [2Kgs. 9.22]; Rev. 5.5 [Gen. 49.9f.]; Rev. 7.16 [Isa. 49.10]

71. Cf. Lohse, 'Sprache', p. 114; Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung*, p. 274; Moyise, *Old Testament*, p. 98; Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, p. 1231; J. C. VanderKam, 'The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought', *From Revelation to Canon* (JSJSup, 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 241–54 (here: 245); K. Backhaus, 'Die Vision vom ganz Anderen, *Theologie als Vision* (SBS, 191; Stuttgart: Kath. Bibelwerk, 2001), pp. 31f.; Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', p. 76; B. Witherington III, *Revelation* (NCB; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 283.

72. Cf. I. Paul, 'The Use of the Old Testament in Revelation 12', in S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (JSNTSup, 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 256–76 (here: 273): 'It is less a case of Revelation "interpreting" the Old Testament than Revelation using Old Testament categories to interpret its own world'. Similarly Mounce, *Revelation*, p. 410.

73. Cf. Müller, *Offenbarung*, p. 372.

74. Beale, *Book of Revelation*, p. 1151.

75. Cf. Hieke, Nicklas, 'Worte', p. 77.

etc.).⁷⁶ With this in mind, it should be considered whether the author of the visionary book argues against particular currents or charismatic teachers in the Christian communities of Asia Minor, who intend to add to or change his work – inspired by the spirit of God – claiming their *own* prophetic inspiration: ‘Revelation was (...) written in a setting of prophetic conflict.’⁷⁷ This idea is supported by the fact that the context of Deut. 4.1f., 13.1f., 29.19f., as well as the ancient Jewish exegetical tradition combines the integrity formula with the warning of the faithful against seduction by illegitimate prophets (cf. Rev. 2.20-25; 22.9).⁷⁸ Concerning the thought that the early Christian ‘Sitz im Leben’ of the formula must be sought in the struggle with enthusiastic prophets and ecstatic visionaries within the author’s own community, 1 Cor. 4.6 could also be added as proof. Here Paul contrasts to the exaggerated self-importance of the Corinthians the demand for a restriction to the authority and committing power of the written word (cf. 2 Pet. 3.16f.).⁷⁹

Indirect References and Similarities between Deuteronomy and Revelation

Rev. 9.13 and Deut. 1.7

The trumpet signal of the sixth angel in Rev. 9.13 introduces an event which was ordered by God himself; a voice from the corners of the heavenly altar commands ‘to release the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates’ (v. 14). Such unencrypted geographic references are unusual in Revelation outside of the letters to the seven churches. The apocalyptic idea of the ultimate attack of the demonic armies of the East from the Euphrates corresponds to the visionary presentation of the final assault of the foreign nations on Israel in Ezek. 38.1-23 (cf. Jer. 46 [LXX: 26].4; 1 Enoch 56.5f.) but the phrase ‘as far as the great river, the river Euphrates’ also occurs in Deut. 1.7 LXX concerning the ideal dimensions of the settlement at the time of the entry into the promised land (cf. Deut. 11.24). A direct allusion is unlikely, however, and it is probable that both passages refer to the promise of the land up to the Euphrates for the descendants of Abraham in Gen. 15.18 (cf. Exod. 23.31; Josh. 1.4). The metaphorical definition of the ideal Davidic kingdom up to the Euphrates (Ps. 72 [LXX: 71].8; cf. Mic. 7.12; Zech. 9.10) implied here, in its turn fed the apocalyptic imagination (cf. 1 Enoch 77.6; 4 Ezra 13.43).

76. Cf. Böcher, ‘Johannes-Apokalypse’, p. 628; U. B. Müller, ‘Apokalyptik im Neuen Testament’, *Christologie und Apokalyptik* (ABG, 12; Leipzig: EVA, 2003), pp. 268–90 (here: 284).

77. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, p. 1232. Cf. idem, ‘The Prophetic Circle of John of Patmos and the Exegesis of Revelation 22.16’, *JSNT* 37 (1989), pp. 103–16 (here: 109); Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung*, p. 275; H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1997), p. 493.

78. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, p. 1232.

79. Cf. Stauffer, *Methurgeman*, p. 289.

Rev. 17.14, 19.16 and Deut. 10.17

The title 'Lord of lords and King of kings' (Rev. 17.14) and in reverse order, 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (Rev. 19.16) is thought to be based on Dan. 4.37 LXX. The wording is almost identical, the themes are similar and Dan. 4.7 is alluded to in Revelation 17. A similar title occurs in Deut. 10.17 LXX, where in an extensive admonition to fear God (Deut. 10.12–11.1), God's imperial power, superiority and sovereignty are praised by the twofold title 'God of gods and Lord of lords'. However, this divine predication, which takes up the original title of the Persian great kings (Ezek. 26.7; Ezra 7.12), is common in the Judeo-Christian tradition (cf. Ps. 136 [LXX: 135].2f.; Dan. 2.37,47; 2 Macc. 13.4; 3 Macc. 5.35; 1 Enoch 9.4; 1 Tim. 6.15; cf. Phil. 2.9) and so dependence on Deuteronomy cannot be established.

Rev. 21.17 and Deut. 3.11

The last vision of the Apocalypse of John (Rev. 21.9–22.5) describes the eschatological city of God as the habitat of the final community of salvation. In v. 15f. the revealing angel measures the city before the eyes of the seer; its cubic dimensions symbolize its huge size and perfection. The height measurements of the walls also correspond to this, namely 144 (i.e. 12×12) normal cubits 'by human measurement'. The genitive ἀνθρώπου must be understood as an adjective and specifies the measurement used. The customary measurement among human beings is also used by the angels in heavens. A comparable measure to the one in Rev. 21.17, 'by the common cubit', also occurs Deut. 3.11 LXX, where the dimensions of the iron bed of the legendary Ammonite king Og in Rabba are mentioned.⁸⁰ However, since the whole vision finds its model in Ezekiel's vision of the renewal of the temple and its cult (Ezekiel 40–48), and the text of Papyrus 967 for Ezek. 40.5 offers a close parallel to Rev. 21.17, direct dependence on Deuteronomy is unlikely.⁸¹

Conclusion

The seer John reveals to his Christian addressees a temporally and spatially transcendent reality. His own reference to the Septuagint of Deuteronomy and its exegetical tradition corresponds to his own idea of himself as recipient and prophetic proclaimer of this otherworldly revelation. The share in the tree of life and in the eschatological new Jerusalem expected in the near future by the Christians addressed by him is fundamentally jeopardized by any present interference with

80. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, pp. 1162f.

81. In Ezekiel the measure behind the long cubit ('a cubit and a handbreadth') is not specified in either the text of the Hebrew Bible or the main stream of the Greek text tradition but the reading of 967 (ἐν πήχει ἀνδρὸς καὶ παλαίστης) is an early witness to a text before the recension of Origen and is close to Rev. 1.17.

the text of the 'revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him' (Rev. 1.1) and prophetically revealed. Their present behaviour is of eschatological relevance: 'Thus, by eschatological interpretation of the present, the apocalyptic author succeeds in passing on to his readers standards of the highest dignity concerning ecclesiastical practice and Christian life; the church becomes a piece of heaven on earth.'⁸²

82. Böcher, 'Johannes-Apokalypse', p. 630.

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